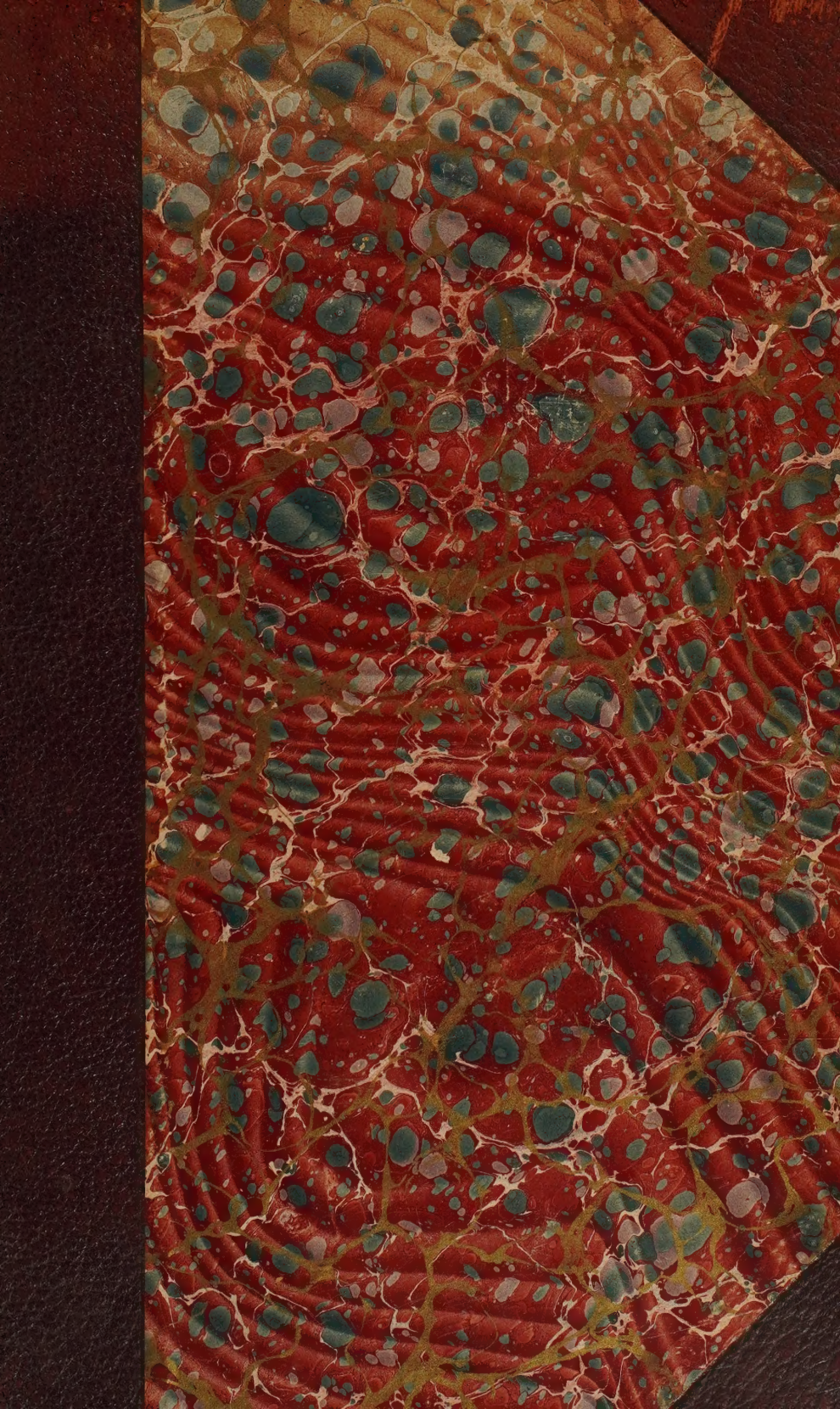










COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA

Seventy Centuries

of the Life of Mankind

IN A SURVEY OF HISTORY
FROM THE EARLIEST KNOWN RECORDS
THROUGH ALL STAGES OF CIVILIZATION, IN ALL
IMPORTANT COUNTRIES, DOWN TO
THE PRESENT TIME

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF PREHISTORIC
PEOPLES, AND WITH CHARACTER SKETCHES
OF THE CHIEF PERSONAGES OF EACH
HISTORIC EPOCH

By J. N. LARNED

EDITOR OF "HISTORY FOR READY REFERENCE," AND AUTHOR OF
"A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS"
"A HISTORY OF ENGLAND FOR SCHOOLS" ETC.

*Illustrated by about one hundred and fifty reproductions of famous
historical paintings and portraits in black and white, and colors.*

In Two Volumes

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HISTORIC EPOCHS

IV

THE EPOCH OF MODERNIZING EXPAN- SIONS, CALLED THE RENAISSANCE

FROM THE TURKISH CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO
THE PRELUDES OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FOURTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG TO THE ADVENT
OF LUTHER

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE ADVENT OF LUTHER TO THE ABDICATION
OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.
TO THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FOURTH EPOCH

The invention of printing and the discovery of America were two events in the later half of the fifteenth century which produced so extraordinary a change in the ideas, the spirit, and all the action of the civilized world, that the history of a century and more after them is marked distinctively from other periods by their stamp. Hence Gutenberg and Columbus are conspicuously representative of that epoch, though their personal eminence is below that of many others, in an age that was singularly productive of great men.

As an exercise of inventive genius, the contrivance of movable type and their successful use in printing have been surpassed by other inventions, but no others have produced equal effects ; and that fact gives great historical distinction to the man who achieved it first. With some uncertainty, this distinction is awarded by the judgment of the best informed to John Gutenberg, born at Mainz, on the Rhine, who took the name of his mother's family, in preference to that of Gänzfleisch, which his father bore. The first printing to which a date can be fixed was done by Gutenberg, at Mainz, in conjunction with a partner named Fust, in 1454. It produced copies of the letters of indulgence which Pope Nicholas was then putting on sale. In the next year the first printed Bible (known as the Mazarin Bible) appeared ; but Fust, who was a capitalist, had got possession of Gutenberg's type and press, and had taken a new partner, Peter Schöfer, who helped him to finish this triumph of the new art. Of the subsequent work of Gutenberg, who carried on a humble shop of his own, with slender means, not much is known. Before his death, in 1468, the printing press was working at Rome ; in 1469 it was set up in Venice ; in 1470 at Paris ; in 1477 at London, before which date last-named it was busy in half the cities of Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, and France.

We may say of Columbus, as of Gutenberg, that his great distinction in history is due, not so much to the qualities in himself out of which his achievement came, as to the prodigious consequences to which it led. It does not seem possible to rate his courage, or his energy, or his intelligence, or his scientific spirit, above those of all

John Gutenberg,
1400(?)–1468

Christopher Columbus,
1446(?)–1506

**Gutenberg**

From an ancient print

had entertained it ; Toscanelli, the Italian astronomer, had urged it ; belief in the earth's rotundity, from which it sprang, had existed for centuries among learned men.

It is the glory of Columbus that he did what other men had talked of doing, and was even more heroic in his patient seeking for an equipment of means than in the daring of his voyage.

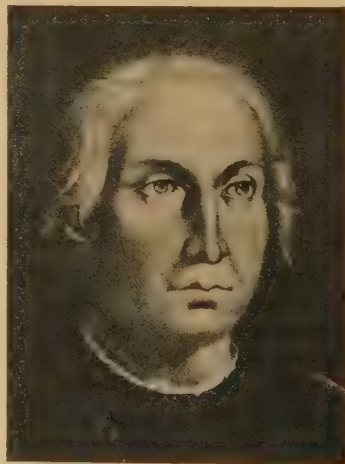
As a feat of courageous and resolute navigation, the voyage of Columbus was surpassed by that of Magellan, the first who sailed round the globe. In the mature judgment of many historians, " Magellan is to be ranked as the first navigator of ancient or modern times, and his voyage the greatest single human achievement on the sea."

Magellan,
1480-1521

Bourne,
*Spain in
America*,
128

Prince
Henry of
Portugal,
1394-1460

other explorers ; but he won the grand prize of exploration. Nothing could result from any later searching of sea or land that would equal the finding of the western New World. When Columbus (born at Genoa, Italy, and trained in seamanship from an early day) went to Portugal, at some time between 1470 and 1473, he did so because the Portuguese were then setting bold examples of adventurous navigation beyond the skirts of the European coast. If he had conceived already the project of a voyage westward to reach India, it was not original with himself. Others

**Columbus**

From painting in Marine Museum, Madrid

The spirit of exploring enterprise that moved Columbus had been awakened half a century before by Prince Henry of Portugal, who spent the best years of his life,

from 1434 till 1460, when he died, in promoting expeditions down the western coast of Africa, far beyond the regions then known. Whether the object pursued by Prince Henry was geographical discovery or new openings for the propagation of Christianity (as lately maintained), it is none the less a fact that exploring ambitions were kindled by what he did.

It is probable, however, that no country on the coast line of Europe felt less of such ambitions than Spain ; and credit for the encouragement that Columbus found in Spain must be given, almost undividedly, to the personal disposition of the queen of Castile. Not much interest in an undertaking so uncertain and remote could be expected from her selfish and scheming consort, Ferdinand, whose eyes were on spoils of intrigue and war that lay nearer to his hand, in Italy and Navarre. Prescott, in comparing the characters of Isabella and Ferdinand, writes: "Hers was all magnanimity, disinterestedness, and deep devotion to the interests of her people. His was the spirit of egotism. The circle of his views might be more or less expanded, but self was the steady, unchangeable center."

The only result of great importance that came directly from the undertakings of the Portuguese prince was the finally complete tracing, by Vasco da Gama, of the ocean-way to India, round the Cape of Good Hope.

The geographical discoveries which revealed a larger world than men had dreamed of before were followed in a few decades by the disclosure that this world is not the center of celestial motions, but a mere satellite of the sun. By these two astonishing revelations of physical fact, thoughtful minds were lifted suddenly to new standpoints for the viewing of the universe, and all their thinking of nature and natural things was jostled out of its old grooves. The start was then given to scientific thought on its modern lines.

Copernicus, who made known the structure of the solar system, was a many-sided man of learning, who practiced medicine and officiated as a canon of the church, at

Ferdinand
and Isabella,
1452-1516
and
1451-1504

Prescott,
*History of
the reign of
Ferdinand
and
Isabella*,
3 : 398

Vasco da
Gama,
1469(?) - 1524



Copernicus

From an old engraving

Copernicus,
1473-1543

Frauenburg, Prussia, and who lectured for a time on mathematics and astronomy at Rome. He was a native of Thorn, now in Prussia, but then in the Polish kingdom. According to tradition, he was dying when he received the first copy of his book, *De Orbium Cœlestium Revolutionibus*, in which the new theory of celestial motions was set forth. It was condemned by the clergy, but made its way slowly into the freer minds of the learned.

Galileo,
1564-1642

Almost a century after the death of Copernicus, Galileo Galilei was summoned to Rome for teaching the Copernican astronomy, and compelled by the Inquisition to declare it false. This remarkable Italian developed the scientific spirit and anticipated its methods of research more completely than any other man of his time. His discoveries in physics, especially those connected with the determination of the laws of motion, have hardly been excelled in importance and number by any later savant. He gave the world a regulator for all its marking of time, by determining the isochronism of the pendulum; he was the inventor of the thermometer and the hydrostatic balance; taking hints from a rude telescope invented in Holland, he made it a scientific instrument, and, turning it upon the heavens, discovered the satellites of Jupiter and the librations of the moon.

Kepler,
1571-1630

Contemporary with Galileo was Johann Kepler, or Von Kapel, who brought new support to the Copernican system of astronomy by working out the three laws of planetary motion which are known as Kepler's laws, namely: (1) that the orbits of the planets are ellipses; (2) that the areas swept by a line drawn from the sun to any planet are proportional to the times employed in the motion; (3) that the squares of the periods of revolution of any two planets are to each other as the cubes of their mean distances from the sun. Kepler announced the first two of these laws in 1609.

Not only in scientific thinking, but along every line of intellectual activity, and through every form of expression that could be given to the wakened mind of Europe, the expansive influences of the time were acting with extraordinary effect. In literature and art, the miraculous inspirations of the Periclean age at Athens were renewed, on a scale enlarged. They had descended once before upon Italy, and upon England with a lighter touch. Now, the greater workings of the miracle were divided between these two widely differing peoples and lands, giving a marvelous creation of poetry to one, and to the other its marvels of art. For how can we call that less than a miracle that produced Shakespeare, the supreme, the incomparable poet of all time, who, alone, gives his age a distinction beyond that

Shake-
speare,
1564-1616



SHAKESPEARE

of every other in the literary history of the world? Yet, if Shakespeare were taken out, it would still be to Elizabethan poetry and prose that the students of English literature would go for the primal springs of what is noblest and sweetest: to Spenser for teachings of melody; to Marlowe (in the lofty flights to which his uncertain genius could bear him sometimes), for the perfection of English blank verse; to Jonson, Raleigh, and a host of lesser writers, known and unknown, in many walks of life, for lyrics that sing to the inward ear, as the true lyric should; to Sidney for the source and secret of his wonderful charm; to Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* for the first great masterpieces of English prose.

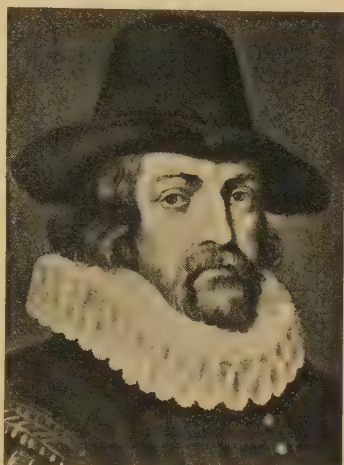
Bacon belongs as much to the next epoch as to this; he is greater in his thought than in his literary style, and he is more interesting as a subject of psychological study than in any other view; but we may speak of him here. That so lofty a

thinker and so creeping a courtier—so noble an intellect and so mean a disposition—should be embodied in the same man, is one of the teasing puzzles of human nature that will never be cleared up. It is not to be disputed that Bacon was one of the great contributors to modern thought, but he was not the founder of modern science, as often said; for the founders of modern science were doing already what he undertook to instruct them in doing. What he did was to formulate a logic—a philosophical system—for the methods of induction which they had begun, by a scientific instinct, to pursue; but his thought went beyond their practice. He had an inspired vision of the ends of knowledge which that method of pursuit might attain. If he was not the founder of modern science, he was its prophet, and the light of his prophecy illuminates all that science has done.

After Shakespeare's, the greatest name of this epoch in pure literature is that of Cervantes, immortalized in the strangest way that

Spenser,
1552(?)–1599

Marlowe,
1564–1593



Bacon

From an engraving by Houbraken

Ben Jonson,
1573(?)–1637

Sir Philip
Sidney,
1554–1586

Richard
Hooker,
1553(?)–1600

Bacon,
1561–1626

Cervantes,
1547–1616



Cervantes

From painting by J. del Castillo

Rabelais,
1495(?)–1553

In France, the golden age of letters came late. Rabelais, with his coarse, powerful genius, his titanic humor, his grotesque masquerading of serious free thought, had seemed to be the fitting herald of some surprising advent in French literature; but he had no greatly notable following for a hundred years, except in Montaigne; and it is not easy to establish Montaigne in the uppermost seats of his gild. We owe him delightful examples of easy discourse,—the pleasantest form of essay,—the most sedative and laxative kind of literature that was ever composed. For resting and for soothing mind and conscience there could be nothing better; but, as a recent writer has said, “If the human race had acted up to Montaigne’s standard of wisdom, there would have been no prophets, no saints, no martyrs, hardly any great thinkers, or great explorers. It would be possible to follow Montaigne and be a haberdasher of small wares.”

Montaigne,
1533–1592



Montaigne

From engraving by de Leu

Hannay,
*The Later
Renaissance*

Of pure literature, Germany produced nothing in these times that is measurable with what we are taking note of in this sketch. Italy had no second Dante or Petrarch to inspire, but she produced Ariosto at the beginning and Tasso at the ending of the sixteenth century; and they are poets in whom the world at large keeps an interest, however little it may read and enjoy *Orlando Furioso* and *Jerusalem Delivered*. But nothing in the Italian poetry of the Renaissance interests modern times so much as the prose of Machiavelli, partly for its quality as prose, and more for the sinister revelation it makes of the political morality of the age, and of the political convictions in that age of a remarkably clear and balanced mind. Next to that of Machiavelli, the prose of the historian Guicciardini,—recognized as the first of modern historians in the classic and the modern sense,—is most admired.

But the true Italian renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was in art. Except in ancient Greece, culture on the æsthetic side of human faculty has never been so fruitful as it was in that epoch and that land. Art, in all her realms, drew far the greater share of the boundless endowments of a marvelous age; but the time of her supremacy was not long. "The Renaissance," says Mr. Symonds, "so far as painting is concerned, may be said to have culminated between the years 1470 and 1550. . . . The thirty years at the close of the fifteenth century may be taken as one epoch in the climax of the art, while the first half of the sixteenth forms a second. Within the former falls the best work of Mantegna, the Bellini, Signorelli, Fra Bartolommeo. To the latter we may reckon Michael Angelo, Raphael, Giorgione, Correggio, Titian, and Andrea del Sarto. Leonardo da Vinci, though belonging chronologically to the former epoch, ranks first among the masters of the latter." Above all in this astonishing company towers the majestic figure of Michael Angelo, painter, sculptor, architect and poet, hardly less supreme in one expression of his genius than the other.

Ariosto,
1474-1533

Tasso,
1544-1595

Machiavelli
1469-1527



Raphael

From a painting by Raphael himself

Guicciardini,
1483-1540

Mantegna,
1431-1506

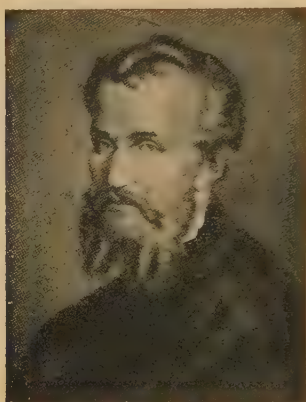
Raphael,
1483-1520

Titian,
1477-1576

Symonds,
*Renaissance
in Italy :
The Fine
Arts*,
ch. iv

Leonardo da
Vinci,
1452-1519

Michael
Angelo,
1475-1564



Michael Angelo

From a painting by M. Angelo himself

gifted with refined discernment and consummate taste."

Outside of Italy the notable wakening of artistic genius came later, and Memling, Durer, Cranach, Holbein, in Germany, and Quinten Matsys, in the Netherlands, are the only artists of distinction whose work was done within the period now reviewed.

But, after all, it was not in art, or in literature, or in science, but in religious feeling and religious thought, that the powerful influences working on the men of this remarkable age showed their widest and quickest effects. For, unquestionably, the Protestant Reformation is to be looked upon as the most significant manifestation that was given of a changed state of mind in the world. The change in that direction came less, we may say, from an increasing discontent with the church than from an increasing independence of feeling and thought; and yet the half-century preceding the Reformation had

With the artists of Italy we associate naturally the princely patrons who gave the means and the opportunities for their work. Lorenzo de' Medici, the untitled ruler of republican Florence, stands for more than the type and representative of that class, being a very embodiment, in himself, of the gifts of the renaissance to his age. "While he never for one moment relaxed his grasp on politics, among philosophers he passed for a sage, among men of letters for an original and graceful poet, among scholars for a Greek sensitive to every nicety of Attic idiom, among artists for an amateur



Lorenzo de' Medici

From a painting by Vasari

Lorenzo
de' Medici,
1449-1492
Symonds,
*Renaissance
in Italy:
Revival of
Learning*,
320

Memling,
died 1494

Durer,
1471-1528

Holbein,
1495-1543

made appalling additions to the older reasons for discontent. At least two popes in that period were infamous men, and two others lived lives that were insulting to the religion they professed. It might have seemed impossible to degrade the papal office more than was done by Sixtus IV., with his reputed licentiousness and the vile brood of relatives that he gathered round him, if the fiendish Borgia, Alexander VI., had not bought the chair of St. Peter a little later, and surrounded it with a hideous staff of poisoners, assassins, and ministers of every conceivable crime and vice. Julius II., who succeeded the Borgia (after an interval of two months), purged Rome of those horrors, and pursued, for the most part, what would have been, in a merely temporal prince of that age, a fairly reputable career,—distinguished, indeed, by a princely patronage of letters and art; but his wars, conducted personally, and his political intrigues, were a scandal to the church of Christ. There was



Savonarola

From the painting by Fra Bartolommeo

nothing of the priest in him, said the contemporary Italian historian, Guicciardini, but the cassock and the name. His successor, Leo X., the genial, amiable, cultivated, pleasure-loving, self-indulgent, Medicean man of the world, appears to have lacked hardly any grace of personal character except the piety which his functions as the "vicar of Christ" required. The time had come when that was a lack to be taken into account.

The influences of the time had not only prepared large masses of people for detachment from the existing organization of the church, but had developed leaders of a more robust and practical stamp than any found in former revolts. Savonarola, who perished at Florence in conflict with the papacy in the reign of Alexander VI., was not one of these. His mystical spirituality and fine heroism did not supply the qualities that were needed for the work to be done. It required, not a leader in the clouds,—not a prophet,—not a seer of visions,—not one from whom miracles could be demanded, and

Pope
Sixtus IV.,
1414-1484

Pope
Alexander
VI.,
1431-1503

Pope
Julius II.,
1443-1513

Pope
Leo X.,
1475-1521

Savonarola,
1452-1498

whose influence would vanish when the miracle did not come,—but a man possessed of the power to dominate multitudes without stepping to any height of vision or emotion above the common plane.

Such a man was Luther. He had high courage, without rashness. He had earnestness and ardor, without fanaticism. He had the plain good sense and sound judgment which win public confidence. His substantial learning put him on terms with the scholars of his day, and he was not so much refined by it as to lose touch with the common people. A certain coarseness in his nature was not offensive to the time in which he lived, but rather belonged among the elements of power in him. His spirituality was



Luther

From the portrait by Cranach

not fine, but it was strong. He was sincere, and men believed in him. He was open, straightforward, manly, commanding respect. His qualities showed themselves in his speech, which went straight to its mark, in the simplest words, moulding the forms and phrases of the German language with more lasting effect than the speech of any other man who ever used it. Not many have lived in any age or any country who possessed the gift of so persuasive a tongue, with so powerful a character to command the hearing for it.

Something of the same character appears in Zwingli, the Swiss reformer, whose contemporary movement was entirely independent of that which Luther led, and in John Knox, whose temper, however, was more imperious and more militant than Luther's, and who overthrew the papal church in Scotland with a suddenness hardly paralleled in any other country.

Of another type of character was John Calvin, native of France, but adopted citizen and ecclesiastical ruler of the free city of Geneva during the last twenty-three years of his life. While Luther's was the greater personal force in the Reformation movement, Calvin was the man of theological intellect, who stamped his mind on the resulting Protestantism of Christianity with the most lasting effects. The stern theology that he formulated has been accepted substantially by

Luther,
1483-1546

Zwingli,
1484-1531

John Knox,
1505-1572

Calvin,
1509-1564

most of the Protestant peoples, and entered with a powerful influence into their character and their historic life. But the austere Calvin, with no Luther preceding him, would no more have wrought the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, from his closet at Geneva, than Melancthon, the theologian of Lutheranism, could have done so, by influence of his own.

Melancthon,
1497-1560

As a revolutionary movement, assailing the integrity of the constituted church, the Reformation was opposed by the learned and eloquent Hollander, Gerhard Gerhards, who named himself Desiderius Erasmus; yet Erasmus is conspicuously a representative of the mental independence then rising in Europe, and which the Reformation most forcibly expressed. Luther and Erasmus worked somewhat opposingly in their own day, but actually to the same end, and their influence was blended in the final product of the modern free mind. For



Erasmus,
1465(?) - 1536

Erasmus

From the painting by Holbein

half a century, at least, after Erasmus there was no other intellectual influence in Europe that equaled his. He had won the ear of the cultured people in every seat of learning, from Oxford to Rome. Born at Rotterdam, probably in 1465, of parents not legally married; orphaned at thirteen; robbed of his inheritance by dishonest guardians, and forced to enter a monastery, his genius carried him, against every disadvantage, to the very front of his age.

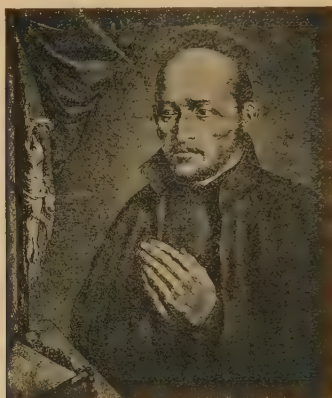
In more positive opposition to the Reformation was Sir Thomas More, the intimate English friend of Erasmus, who differed from him very little in his repugnance to the existing evils in the papacy and the church, but who held fast to both with as much of intolerant feeling as could tincture the sweet philosophy of the man. Finer and stronger in character than Erasmus, it is hard to find in history a more winning personality than that of More, and yet harder to name another example of such simple serenity in the acceptance of martyrdom for a belief.

Sir Thomas
More,
1478-1535

Among the active antagonists of the Reformation, no other did so much to check its progress, in Europe, and then to turn it back from

Loyola,
1491-1556

half the countries it seemed likely to possess, as Ignatius de Loyola, who founded the Society of Jesus, with papal sanction, in 1540, and led it into the field of religious conflict, as its general, in 1541. Before his death, in 1556, the Jesuit society had pressed to the front of the militant organizations of the Roman church, by force of the zeal and the fearless devotion with which it was inspired, and by virtue of the unquestioning obedience to which its members were vowed. They were disciplined and commanded like an army; for the founder of their order had been a Spanish soldier till his thirtieth year. At that time, while suffering from a wound, he came under religious influences and



Loyola

From painting by Rubens

dedicated his life to the Virgin. He was a man of thirty-seven years when he entered the University of Paris as a student of theology, and there, in 1534, in counsel with several devout companions, he formed the project which was realized in 1541.

Motives in the Reformation movement, and in the resistance to it, became more political than religious, very early, and the sovereigns and public men of the day were forced to be chief actors in the contention, on one or the other side. The most formidable political power brought against the reformers was that which arose in Europe at this precise time from the ominous merging of the great sovereignty of Burgundy in that of Spain. Happily, before this came about, Louis XI., as consummately able in despicable meanness as a man can well be, had stripped the larger part of its French dominions from the Burgundian house, and had nearly completed the defeudalizing of France,—moulding it to a national form. But the rich Netherland provinces (left to Mary of Burgundy, and carried into a union with the now greatly expanded empire of the kings of Spain, by the marriage of her son with the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella) gave an endowment of wealth to the most overshadowing monarchy that Europe had seen since the empire of Charlemagne was dissolved. When Charles, the young heir to these accumulated sovereignties, received additionally, by election, the

Louis XI.,
of France,
1423-1483

crowns of Germany and the Holy Roman empire, he became one of the imposing figures in European history. Imposing, that is, in appearance, as a figure on the stage, but not as a great actor in affairs. With the many-sided advantages of his extraordinary position,—with the varied and numerous elements of influence and power at his command,—with the unprecedented opportunities which a time so strangely plastic in its conditions could offer to a statesman in his place,—a very little superiority in character and in qualities of mind would have sufficed for such a shaping of history as could never lose the mark of his hand. He gave it no such shaping, and his deepest mark upon it is traced in the slow decay of Spain.

Charles scored the beginning of that sinister mark; his hateful son, Philip II., ploughed it to an indelible depth. Of this bloodless creature, to whom religion meant the killing of heretics and politics was a science of assassination, there are historical writers who labor to speak excusingly. He represented, they plead, the intolerant and persecuting temper of religion in his time. Yes; but he represented it as Nero represented the inhumanity of Rome, —as the Borgias represented Italian depravity in their day. He represented it by a hideous exaggeration, as the worst in every age is represented by the natures that are in tune with what is worst.

If there was another sovereign in this period as detestable as Philip II., of Spain, it was the English Henry VIII. He was the incomparable tyrant of English history. The monarch who repudiated two wives, sent two to the block, and shared his bed with yet two more; who made a whole national church the servant of his lusts, and who took the lives of the purest men of his kingdom,—Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, when they would not bend their consciences to say that he did well,—has a pedestal quite his own in the gallery of infamous kings. An enemy of the Reformation, Henry did more to advance it, nevertheless, than any other political actor in



Charles V.,
emperor,
1500-1558

Charles V

From painting by Titian

Philip II.,
of Spain,
1527-1598

Henry
VIII., of
England,
1491-1547

the events of the time, by pursuing a shameful purpose of his own till it carried him into conflict with the papal church.

Cardinal
Wolsey,
1471(?)–1530

Preceding that occurrence, the able minister of Henry VIII., Cardinal Wolsey, had been giving distinction to the reign, raising England to a higher standing among European states. He had served his thankless master too faithfully ; had fed the selfish egotism of the king too much ; and when, at last, he failed to satisfy the despot in a wicked wish, he was flung aside like a broken tool. Wolsey, says a recent writer, “ raised England from the rank of a second-rate power among the nations. His faults, indeed, are not to be denied. Impure as a priest and unscrupulous in many ways as a statesman, he was only a conspicuous example in those things of a prevailing moral corruption. But his great public services, fruitful in their consequences, even under the perverse influences which succeeded him, would have produced yet nobler results for his country, if his policy had been left without interference.”

Gairdner,
*Cambridge
Modern
History*,
2 : 435

Thomas
Cromwell,
1485(?)–1540

Of Thomas Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey in Henry’s service, the same writer says : “ He maintained his position by pure obsequiousness, and there was no kind of cruelty or tyranny of which he declined to be the agent. Seldom have vast and multifarious interests been so completely under the control of a statesman so unscrupulous.” But even obsequiousness could not save this Cromwell from the fatal spleen of a king who used the headsman’s axe as one might use a whip among dogs.

Francis I.,
of France,
1494–1547

France had more weight than England in the politics of these times, and the persistent rivalry of its king, Francis I., with the many-crowned emperor, Charles V., gave the latter his chief occupation. But Francis was too light-minded and pleasure-loving for successful ambition, and the most important product of his reign was a fashion of court life in France which affected the character of its nobility, with grave future results.

Gustavus
Vasa, of
Sweden,
1496–1560

Among the occupants of thrones, the ablest and strongest of this generation, by far, was Gustavus Vasa, the Swede, who erected his own royal seat and was raised to it by popular choice. He acquired absolute power by simply refusing to be king on other terms, and his use of the power appears generally to have been good. In church matters he carried out a reformation as independent as that of Henry VIII. in England, but wholly dispassionate, with no cruelties of persecution and no grasping of church property for any other benefit than that of the state.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, that which began in its

early years as a religious conflict had generated political parties ; the religious feeling in it had been overborne by political forces ; clerical leadership had practically disappeared, and it went on in most countries as a struggle between parties and party chieftains for governmental power. Wars, partly religious, and partly political, were soon raging in the Netherlands and France ; England hung for years on the verge of a similar war ; Germany was only postponing it by a precarious truce. Contending soldiers and politicians,—a few true statesmen and a few men of true religious conviction among them,—seemed to hold the issues of the Reformation in their hands.

On one side in France were the Guises,—Cardinal Charles, Duke Francis and Duke Henry,—so eager, so daring, and so unscrupulous in ambition that peace and they could not, in any circumstances, dwell together. Sometimes with them as an ally and sometimes against them as a rival,—was Catherine de' Medici, the intriguing mother of three degenerate kings, in succession, and the evil genius of them all. In chieftainship on the other side stood, at first, the prince de Condé and the admiral Coligny, both of whom were towers of strength to the Huguenot cause, not so much by the ability of their service to it, as by the trust which their solidity and integrity of character inspired. When they perished their places were far more than filled in ability, far less than filled in faithfulness, by Henry of Navarre, who won the crown of France by renouncing his beliefs. The complexities in the character of this remarkable man have been described by Professor Baird with a just and skillful pen. He was, writes that historian, "so grand a man, in some aspects, that we wonder that his character should have been marred by such blemishes ; so faulty a man, from other points of view, that we marvel that he could ever have been esteemed magnanimous." "A man . . . of excessive fondness for pleasure ; . . . selfish, even where he was most liberal ; calculating, where he appeared most disinterested ; fickle in his love, whether to man or to woman."

The Guises,
1519-1588



Henry IV

From a painting in the Louvre

Catherine
de' Medici,
1519-1589

Louis I.,
prince
de Condé,
1530-1569

Admiral
Coligny,
1517-1572

Henry of
Navarre,
(Henry IV.),
of France,
1553-1610

Baird, *the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, 2 : 490-92

But "his was the sagacious intellect, his the unfaltering courage, his the steady hand, that brought order out of the confusion into which the civil wars of the latter half of the sixteenth century had plunged his country."

Abilities at least equal to those of Henry IV., but very different in their kind, were added to vastly higher moral qualities, in the

character of the great man, William of Orange, who led the Netherlands in their struggle with Spain, till the assassins of Philip II. took his life. Henry surpassed him as a soldier, and had more clever artfulness in the management of men ; but the calm, clear-minded, large-minded wisdom and the firmly-balanced nature of the "silent" Prince of Orange, gave him a weight of influence, a power of leadership, an upholding strength, which the lighter gifts of Henry of Navarre could never have contributed to any cause. What he was to the Netherlands they learned only when he fell. "Habit, neces-



William the Silent

From painting by J. Miereveldt

sity, and the natural gifts of the man," says Motley, "had combined to invest him with an authority which seemed more than human. There was such general confidence in his sagacity, courage and purity, that the nation had come to think with his brain and act with his hand."

On the Spanish side of the Netherland stage, in this terrible drama of political-religious war, the foremost figure among Philip's players is that of the blood-stained, brutal Duke of Alva, whose executioners put 18,000 men and women to death in six years, while his soldiers butchered thousands beyond counting in captured towns. "Never," says Motley, "was so great a quantity of murder and robbery achieved with such despatch and regularity."

England and Scotland were involved together in the conflicts of the time, by reason of the claim which the Catholic queen of Scots, Mary Stuart, could make to the English crown, as against Elizabeth, the Protestant daughter of Anne Boleyn and Henry VIII. Here,

William the Silent, 1533-1584

Motley, *The United Netherlands*, 1 : 1

Duke of Alva, 1508-1582

Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 2 : 501

more than elsewhere, the issue was a complex of religious, political and national feelings ; but the real antagonism in it was that between old church and new. Mary Stuart, who represented legitimate royalty as well as true religion to the English Catholics, was a woman of far greater personal charm than Elizabeth, and, apparently, of more capable mind, when she exercised its powers ; but she was passionate, willful, self-indulgent, lacking in moral stabilities of purpose or principle,—all of which tendencies of nature had been cultivated, no doubt, by her life at the French court. Elizabeth, on the other hand, was strong in spirit, but weakened strangely by a credulous personal vanity, and by more than the capriciousness that is supposed to be allowable to her sex. Of intellectual ability she never gave much proof. She never grasped the affairs she dealt with in a broadly capable way. She never acted on them with well considered judgment. Her ministers, it is clear, were never able to depend upon a reasonable action of her mind. Her vanity or her jealousy might put reason in eclipse at any moment, and a skillful flatterer could make the queen as foolish as a milkmaid. But she had a royal courage and a royal pride of country, and she did make the good and glory of England her aim. So she won the affection of most Englishmen whose hearts were not in the keeping of the pope, and no sovereign so arbitrary was ever more ardently admired.

Mary,
Queen of
Scots,
1542-1587

Elizabeth of
England,
1533-1603

In Asia, no less than in Europe, there were many and fierce conflicts raging ; but they were frankly barbaric, with no pretension among the actors to be serving a divine cause. Babar, a descendant of Timur, began the conquest of India, which his grandson, Akbar, made substantially complete, founding the so-called Moghul empire, which existed till an English trading company threw it down. While capable at times of all the savagery that ran in his Tatar blood, Akbar gave evidence in many measures of a broad enlightenment, a just disposition, a statesman's aims. So far as his authority went, he gave the millions of India, without doubt, a better government than they had known for a thousand years.

Babar, of
India,
1483-1530

Akbar, of
India,
1542-1605

Internal and external war in China, with native rebels and with Tatar enemies, produced no character that seems to deserve a remembered name. But feudalistic disorder in Japan was mastered by an able man, Tokugawa Ieyasu, who organized the government of the island empire in the form that it preserved, substantially, till 1868. Half a century before the advent of Ieyasu the famous Jesuit missionary, Father Xavier, called "the apostle of the Indies,"

Ieyasu, of
Japan,
16th-17th
centuries

Father
Xavier,
1506-1552

had labored in Japan for two years, opening a propagandism of Christianity which bore remarkable fruit. For about forty years the new religion was tolerated ; then the government became hostile, and persecutions, mild at first, but made relentless by Ieyasu, were unceasing till the new faith had been suppressed. Before reaching Japan, Father Xavier had preached and taught in India, Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas, and is said to have baptized altogether no less than a million persons ; though he died at the age of forty-six, while journeying from Japan to China.

Las Casas,
1474-1566

Christian missionaries as devoted as Xavier were finding another field of labor in the New World ; greatest among them the noble Bartolomé de las Casas, " Protector of the Indians," who spent his life in efforts to save the perishing natives of Spanish America from the heartless slavery under which they were crushed. But Christian work fills a very modest chapter of the early annals of European action in America, compared with the long story of rapine and war, — of ruthless conquest and greedy searching for gold. The pity is that purposes so ignoble or so wicked could exercise such powers and such qualities of character as those, for example, of Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, which lend an air almost heroic to his barbarous exploit. Expended worthily, in some defense of right, or some great enterprise of good, his surpassing resourcefulness, his splendid indomitability, his whole might and masterfulness of spirit, would have sufficed for a greatness quite up to the measure of the greatest men. But nothing done from motives so mean and with methods so inhuman can win the admiration of just minds. What Cortés did ably, as Cæsar or Sulla might have done it, Pizarro, in Peru, did brutally, as Marius would ; and in his case no question of admiration can arise.

Cortés,
1485-1547
Pizarro,
1471-1541



Sir Walter Raleigh

From engraving by Houbraken

Drake,
1540(?) - 1596

like Mexico and a people like the Aztecs and their subjects, it is probable that he would have dealt with them as Cortés did, most

Had it been the fortune of Sir Francis Drake to discover a land

likely with equal success, but hardly with equal perfection of measures and equal celerity of action from beginning to end. In brain, Cortés appears to have been the superior man ; in personal force otherwise they were not unlike ; and they represent in their careers the moral notions that were dominant in the public affairs of their time.

In its connection with the early history of America the name of Sir Walter Raleigh ought to be writ larger than it is. He failed in his great undertakings ; but there is nowhere another actor in the stirring events of the sixteenth century who seems to have been animated so powerfully by the energies and the prescient ambitions of that wonderful time. He divined the destiny of America, and had such visions of coming centuries in the expanded world as stirred no other minds. The sagacity of the statesman and the imagination of the poet were combined in his views, and time has proved how wise they were.

Raleigh,
1552-1618

CHAPTER XIII

FROM THE ADVENT OF GUTENBERG TO THE ADVENT OF LUTHER

(A. D. 1454 TO 1517)

The transition from mediæval to modern conditions.—Expansion, liberation, re-wakening.—Invention of printing and its effects.—Revival of learning.—Geographical exploration and discovery.—Undertakings of Prince Henry of Portugal.—Voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. *State of Europe when America was discovered.* *France:* Louis XI. and Charles the Bold.—Consolidation of the kingdom. *Italy:* Naples, Milan, Florence.—The Medicean despotism at Florence.—Savonarola and his fate.—Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France.—Its effects on France. *Germany and the Empire:* The marriage unions of Austrian, Burgundian and Spanish families.—Their immense effects. *England:* Absolute monarchy resulting from civil wars.—Establishment of the Tudor dynasty. *Discovery of America:* Voyages of Columbus, Cabot, and Vesputius.—Papal grants to Spain and Portugal.—The naming of America.—Effects of the discovery, and of the opening of the sea-route to India.—The Portuguese in the east. *France and Italy:* Italian wars of Louis XII.—Spanish acquisition of Naples.—The league against Venice.—Infamous and scandalous popes.

We have come now, in our hasty survey of European history, to the stretch of time within which historians have agreed to place the ending of the state of things characteristic of the Middle Ages, and the beginning of the changed conditions and different spirit that belong to the modern life of the civilized world. The transition in European society from mediæval to modern ways, feelings and thoughts, has been called Renaissance, or new birth; but the figure under which this places the conception before one's mind does not seem to be really a happy one. There was no birth of anything new in the nature of the generations of men who passed through that change, nor in the societies which they formed. What occurred to make changes in both was an expansion, a liberation, an enlightenment—an opening of eyes, and of ears, and of inner senses and sensibilities. There was no time and no place that can be marked at which this began;

and there is no cause or chain of causes to which it can be traced. We have found signs of its coming, here and there, in one token of movement and another, all the way through later mediæval times—at least since the first Crusades. In the thirteenth century there was a wonderful quickening of all the many processes which made it up. In the fourteenth century they were checked; but still they went on. In the fifteenth they revived with greater energy than before; and in the sixteenth they rose to their climax in intensity and effect.

Signs of
their coming

That which took place in European society was not a re-naissance so much as the re-wakening of men to a daylight existence, after a thousand years of sunless night,—moonlighted at the best. The truest descriptive figure is that which represents these preludes to our modern age as a morning dawn and daybreak; and the invention of printing may be looked upon as the true signal of the break of day.

The invention of printing

Whether John Gutenberg, at Mainz, in 1454, or Laurent Coster, at Haarlem, twenty years before that date, executed the first printing with movable types, is a question of small importance, except as a question of justice between the two possible inventors, in awarding a great fame which belongs to one or both. The grand fact is, that thought and knowledge took wings from the sublime invention, and ideas were spread among men with a swift diffusion that the world had never dreamed of before. The slow wakening that had gone on for two centuries became suddenly so quick that scarcely more than fifty years, from the printing of the first Bible, sufficed to inoculate half of Europe with the independent thinking of a few boldly enlightened men.

Gutenberg
or Coster,
inventor of
printing
1454 (?)

If Gutenberg's printing of Pope Nicholas's letter of indulgence, in 1454, was really the first achievement of the newborn art, then it followed by a single year the event commonly fixed upon for the dating of our Modern Era, and it derived much of its earliest importance indirectly from that event. For the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, was preceded and followed by a flight of Greeks to western Europe, bearing such treasures as they could

Effects of
the Turkish
capture of
Constanti-
nople

save from the Turks. Happily those treasures included precious manuscripts; and among the fugitives was no small number of educated Greeks, who became teachers of their language in the west. Thus teaching and text were offered at the moment when the printing press stood ready to make a common gift of them to every hungering student.

Scholarship
of the
renaissance

This opened the second of the three stages which the late John Addington Symonds defined in the history of scholarship during the renaissance: "The first is the age of passionate desire; Petrarch poring over a Homer he could not understand, and Boccaccio in his maturity learning Greek, in order that he might drink from the well-head of poetic inspiration, are the heroes of this period. They inspired the Italians with a thirst for antique culture. Next comes the age of acquisition and of libraries. Nicholas V., who founded the Vatican library in 1453, Cosmo de' Medici, who began the Medicean collection a little earlier, and Poggio Bracciolani, who ransacked all the cities and convents of Europe for manuscripts, together with the teachers of Greek, who in the first half of the fifteenth century escaped from Constantinople with precious freights of classic literature, are the heroes of this second period."

Libraries

Early work
of the press

"Then came the third age of scholarship—the age of the critics, philologers, and printers. . . . Florence, Venice, Basle, and Paris groaned with printing presses. The Aldi, the Stephani, and Froben, toiled by night and day, employing scores of scholars, men of supreme devotion and of mighty brain, whose work it was to ascertain the right reading of sentences, to accentuate, to punctuate, to commit to the press, and to place beyond the reach of monkish hatred or of envious time, that everlasting solace of humanity which exists in the classics. All subsequent achievements in the field of scholarship sink into insignificance beside the labours of these men, who needed genius, enthusiasm, and the sympathy of Europe for the accomplishment of their titanic task. Virgil was printed in 1470, Homer in 1488, Aristotle in 1498, Plato in 1512. They then became the inalienable heritage of mankind. . . . This third age in the history of the Renaissance

Symonds,
*Renaissance
in Italy:
Age of the
Despots*,
20-24

scholarship may be said to have reached its climax in Erasmus, for by this time Italy had handed on the torch of learning to the northern nations."

Art had had its new-birth in Italy already; but it shared with everything spiritual and intellectual the wonderful quickening of the age, and produced the great masters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Titian, in Italy; Holbein and Dürer, in Germany, and the host of their compeers in that astonishing age of artistic genius.

The great
masters of
art

The exploration of the world

A ruder and more practical direction in which the spirit of the age manifested itself, with prodigious results, was that of exploring navigation, to penetrate the unknown regions of the globe and find their secrets out. But, strangely, it was none of the older maritime and commercial peoples who led the way in this: neither the Venetians, nor the Genoese, nor the Catalans, nor the Flemings, nor the Hansa leaguers, nor the English, were early in this search for new countries and new routes of trade. The grand exploit of "business enterprise" in the fifteenth century, which changed the face of commerce throughout the world, was left to be performed by the Portuguese, whose prior commercial experience was as slight as that of any people in Europe.

It was a younger son in their royal family, Prince Henry, known afterward as "the Navigator," who woke the spirit of exploration in them and pushed them to the achievement which placed Portugal, for a time, at the head of the maritime states. Beginning in 1434, Prince Henry sent expedition following expedition down the western coast of Africa, and, till lately, it has been assumed and often stated that his object was to find the southern extremity of the continent and a way round it to the eastward—to the Indies, the goal of commercial ambition then and long after. That account of the purpose of his expeditions is now disputed. A recent investigator and writer upon the subject of the explorations of the fifteenth century says: "There is nothing to show, or even to suggest, that Dom Henrique . . . had formed

Prince
Henry, the
navigator

Payne, in
*Cambridge
Modern
History*, 1:
ch. i

Portuguese
voyages,
1434-1497

Voyage of
Vasco da
Gama, 1497

Columbus
1492

Europe
when
America was
discovered

any plans for the extension of ocean navigation beyond a point long previously reached by the Genoese, or ever thought of the route round the southernmost point of Africa as a practical route to India." In this writer's opinion, the object of Prince Henry was to reach the fertile country south of the Sahara, known as Bilad Ghana (Guinea) by the Moors, for the purpose of converting its people to Christianity, and saving them from the propagandists of Islam. Whatever may have been the ends contemplated by the prince, it is certain that what he did stirred maritime ambitions among his countrymen, and started them upon a course of exploration down the west African coast which went on after he died, until Bartholomeu Dias, in 1486, rounded the southern point of the continent without knowing it, and Vasco da Gama, in 1497, passed beyond, and sailed to the coast of India.

Five years before the achievement of Vasco da Gama, Columbus had made the more venturesome voyage westward and discovered the New World of America. Before entering on the story of that grand event it will be best to explain more fully the conditions existing in Europe at the time it occurred.

It was one of the singular birthmarks of the new era in history that many peoples were just arriving at a fairly consolidated nationality, and preparing to act, for the first time, with something like organic unity in the affairs of the world. Strong centralizing forces came, everywhere, into operation, almost simultaneously, without final success in Germany, but with lasting effects of nationalization in France, Spain, the Netherlands, England, Russia, and the Scandinavian kingdoms of the north.

The nationalizing of France

From the miserably downfallen and divided state in which France was left by the Hundred Years War, it was raised by a singular king, who employed strange, ignoble methods, but employed them with remarkable success. This was Louis XI., who owes to Sir Walter Scott's romance of *Quentin Durward* an introduction to common fame which he could not have secured otherwise; since

popular attention is not often drawn to the kind of cunning and hidden work in politics which he did.

Louis XI., on coming to the throne in 1461, found himself surrounded by a state of things that seemed like a revival of the feudal state at its worst,—as when Philip Augustus and Louis IX. had to deal with great vassals who rivaled or overtopped them in power. The reckless granting of appanages to children of the royal family had raised up a new group of nobles, too powerful and too proud to be loyal and obedient subjects of the monarchy. At the head of them was the duke of Burgundy, whose splendid dominion, extended by marriage over most of the Netherlands, raised him to a place among the greater princes of Europe, and who quite outshone the king of France in everything but the royal rank.

It was impossible, in the circumstances, for the crown to establish its supremacy over these powerful lords by means open and direct. The craft and dishonesty of Louis found methods more effectual. He cajoled, beguiled, betrayed and cheated his antagonists, one by one. He played the selfishness and ambitions of each against the others, and he skillfully evoked something like a public opinion in his kingdom against the whole. At the outset of his reign the nobles formed a combination against him, which they called the League of the Public Weal, but which aimed at nothing but fresh gains to the privileged class and advantages to its chiefs. Of alliance with the people against the crown, as in England, there was no thought. Louis yielded to the league in appearance, and cunningly went beyond its demands in his concessions, making it odious to the kingdom at large, and securing to himself a strong support from the states-general of France.

The tortuous policy of Louis was aided by many favoring circumstances and happenings. It was favored not least, perhaps, by the hot-headed character of Charles the Bold, who succeeded his father, Philip, in the duchy of Burgundy, in 1467. Charles was inspired with a great and not unreasonable ambition, to make his realm a kingdom, holding a middle place between Germany and France. He had abilities, but he was of a passionate and

Louis XI.,
1461-1483

Comines,
Memoirs

The great
dukedom of
Burgundy

Political
methods of
Louis XI.

Charles the
Bold, of
Burgundy,
1467-1477

Kirk,
*History of
Charles the
Bold*

haughty temper, and no match for the cool, perfidious, plotting king of France. The latter, by skillful intrigue, involved him in a war with the Swiss, which he conducted imprudently, and in which he was defeated and killed. His death cleared Louis' path to complete mastery in France, and he made the most of his opportunity.

Mary, of
Burgundy,
1477-1482

Charles left only a daughter, Mary of Burgundy, and she seemed to be helplessly placed. Louis lost no time in seizing the duchy of Burgundy, as a fief of France. He took possession, also, of Franche Comté, which was a fief of the empire, and he put forward claims in Flanders, Artois and elsewhere. But the Netherlanders, while they took their own advantage from the young duchess's situation, and exacted large concessions of chartered privileges from her, yet maintained her rights; and, before the first year of her orphanage closed, she obtained a champion by marriage with the archduke Maximilian of Austria, son of the emperor, Frederick III. Maximilian was successful in war with Louis; but the latter held Burgundy, which was re-annexed to the royal domain of France. Before the death of Louis XI. the French crown regained Anjou, Maine and Provence, by inheritance from the last representative of the great second house of Anjou. Thus the kingdom which he left to his son, Charles VIII., was a consolidated nation, containing in its centralized government the germs of the absolute monarchy of a later day.

Burgundy,
Anjou,
Maine and
Provence
united to the
French
crown

Charles
VIII.,
1483-1498

Charles VIII. was a loutish and uneducated boy of eight years when his father died. His capable sister Anne carried on the government for some years, and continued her father's work, by defeating a revolt of the nobles, and by marrying the young king to the heiress of Brittany—thereby uniting to the crown the last of the great semi-independent fiefs. When Charles came of age, he conceived the idea of recovering the kingdom of Naples, which the house of Anjou claimed, and which he looked upon as part of his inheritance from that house.

Brittany
annexed

Conditions in Italy

While Alfonso, of Aragon, reigned at Naples, and while Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and Lorenzo de'

Medici, the untitled ruler of Florence, were both alive, the French invasion of Italy could have had little chance of success. But death had removed all three, and the situation existing offered actual invitations to the young king of France. Alfonso had separated the crown of Naples from that of Aragon, and left it to a bastard son, who earned the hatred of his subjects by trying to make himself feared. At Milan, the nominal duke, Gian Galeazzo, a young grandson of Francesco Sforza, was helplessly in the power of a sinister uncle, Ludovico, who had seized the reins of government, and who was ready to betray every other part of Italy to the French, if he could secure their alliance with himself. At Florence, the despotism which Lorenzo de' Medici made "magnificent" by his personal princeliness of genius and disposition, assumed a different aspect when he died, in 1492, and the unacknowledged, undefined chieftainship in the Medicean family passed to a son Piero, less qualified to exercise it in a dazzling and overmastering way.

Naples

Milan

Florence

The nature and the bases of the Medicean despotism were peculiar, and most suggestive of grave thinking to the democracies of the present day. It was by their vast wealth, their relations as great bankers with courts and commercial houses, everywhere, their consequent importance abroad and splendor of standing at home, and by the seductions these enabled them to practice on their fellow citizens, that they won the government of Florence. Lorenzo's private fortune, says an acute French writer, "is a sort of public treasury, and his palace a second hotel-de-ville. He entertains the learned, aids them with his purse, makes friends of them, corresponds with them, defrays the expense of editions of their works, purchases manuscripts, statues and medals, patronizes promising young artists, opens to them his gardens, his collections, his house and his table."

The
Medicean
despotismLorenzo,
"the Mag-
nificent,"
1469-1492His
patronage of
art and
learningTaine,
*Italy:
Florence
and Venice*,
bk. 3, ch. ii

It was thus that the Medicis, and especially Lorenzo, charmed Florence, while they stole away her freedom; with what moral and social effects let us turn to another writer to see: "The higher classes of society," says Mrs. Oliphant, "having shaken themselves apart with graceful contempt from the lower, had begun to frame their lives

Florentine
paganism

Oliphant,
*Makers of
Florence*,
ch. ix

Savonarola,
1490-1498

Villari,
*History of
Girolamo
Savonarola
and his
Times*

Savonarola's
preaching

His lofty
tone of
authority

1494

His
prophetic
warnings

Supreme
influence of
the monk

according to a pagan model, leaving the other and much bigger half of the world to pursue its superstitions undisturbed. Florence was as near a pagan city as it was possible for its rulers to make it. . . . Society had never been more dissolute, more selfish, or more utterly deprived of any higher aim."

But this, the Florence of Lorenzo de' Medici, was about to undergo a marvelous change. In 1490, two years before the death of Lorenzo, Fra Girolamo Savonarola, a Dominican monk, began preaching in the city, with amazing effects. Like one of the old Hebrew prophets, he spoke as God's messenger, divinely commissioned to denounce and to warn sinful Florence, sinful Italy, and the corrupted church. He himself had no doubt that God had put the words which he spake into his mouth, and very soon those who heard him were afraid to doubt. They were daunted and dominated by the lofty authority of his tone, by the fearlessness of his speech, by the manifest sincerity and spirituality of the man. When the great Lorenzo died, Florence remembered that he had threatened the bold preacher with banishment, and that Savonarola had said in reply: "Though I am a stranger in the city, and Lorenzo the first man in the state, yet I shall stay here, and it is he who must go hence." When the army of the king of France crossed the Alps and entered Italy, few in Florence could doubt that it came to fulfill the prophetic warnings of the inspired monk, who had foretold tribulations and scourgings for the church and for Italy, and who had foreshadowed even the manner of the scourging, by one whom God would send as he sent Cyrus of old, to sweep away tyrannies and iniquities and purge the earth.

From that hour the Florentines gave themselves up to the leading of Savonarola; his influence was supreme. The city had been endangered by the folly of Piero de' Medici, who made an uncalled-for demonstration of friendliness to the king of Naples, in the face of the approaching claimant of the latter's throne. Then, taking fright when the invader drew near, Piero hurried to meet him with abject offers of submission, surrendering important fortresses by way of pledge. This was his last

exercise of power. At once the government of the republic was assumed by a body of leading citizens and organized provisionally, with Savonarola for its moving spirit and guiding mind. It was Savonarola who met the approaching king of France, and spoke to him as boldly in behalf of Florence as he had spoken to the congregations in his own church. It was Savonarola's impressive and commanding influence that protected Florence from serious injury while the French army halted within her walls. It was Savonarola who prompted the framing of a constitution for the emancipated republic, on the Venetian model; who directed the organization of the new government, and whose opinions and counsels were generally in control of what it did.

The
Medicean
government
set aside

The change wrought by his influence in the lately paganized and debauched city has hardly a parallel in history. "The lascivious songs, called *carnascialeschi*, which used to be heard on all sides at the time of the Carnival, and to the composition of which even Lorenzo de' Medici demeaned himself, gave place to pious canticles; and the gaudy pageants in which the gilded youth of Florence took delight were relinquished in favor of religious processions. The money which, but for Fra Girolamo, would have been squandered on finery and luxury, or which would have been lost at the gambling table—for the passion for high play was one of the moral plagues of the city, and had infected every class of society,—now found its way to the friars' alms-boxes, and through them to the poor." The children of the city "were organized into a kind of spiritual militia, divided into companies corresponding to the several quarters of the city, each with its own *gonfaloniere* and staff of officers. The duties assigned them were not merely the preservation of order, the securing of regular attendance at the church services, and the repression of abuses among themselves, but also the collection of alms for the poor, and in particular the levying of contributions for the bonfire of vanities." The "bonfire of vanities" was a public holocaust of cards, dice, licentious books, face-paints, false hair, and all the paraphernalia of frivolity and vice. It

Reformation
of Florence

Organization
of the
children

Lucas,
Fra
Girolamo
Savonarola,
36, 45

The "bon-
fire of
vanities"

is described most graphically in the forty-ninth chapter of George Eliot's tale of *Romola*.

Papal con-
demnation of
Savonarola

In his denunciations of iniquity and his demands for the purification of a corrupted church, Savonarola spared none. He never hesitated to challenge the wicked, in high places or low, from the wicked Borgian pope, Alexander VI., down to the humblest Florentine sinner. The pope attempted first to silence him by the offer of a cardinal's hat. When that failed, all the ecclesiastical and political powers that he had angered and antagonized, not only at Florence and Rome, but throughout Italy, combined to destroy him. The pope forbade his preaching, and he submitted to the interdiction for a time; but dared at last to challenge the papal authority, remount his pulpit and resume his bold dealing with the sins of the church and the age. Excommunicated by the head of the church, he still pursued his fearless course, which led straight to martyrdom, as he must have foreseen. For the faith of the fickle Florentines in their prophet gave way when his enemies demanded a miracle to attest his inspiration, and none came. Then he was easily pulled down; tried for heresy, schism and "contempt of the Holy See"; tortured, condemned, hanged, and his body burned.

His
martyrdom,
April 7, 1498

The French Invasion of Italy under Charles VIII.

Ranke,
*History of
Latin and
Teutonic
Nations*,
1494 to 1514,
bk. 1, ch. ii

Assisted by the duke of Milan, approved at Florence as God's instrument for the purging of Italy, and unopposed at Rome, the progress of Charles VIII. through the peninsula was a triumphant march. On his approach to Naples, the Aragonese king, Alfonso, abdicated in favor of his son, Ferdinand II., and died soon after. Ferdinand, shut out of Naples by an insurrection, fled to Sicily, and Charles entered the city, where the populace welcomed him with warmth. Most of the kingdom submitted within a few weeks, and the conquest seemed complete.

But what they had won so easily, the French held with a careless hand, and they lost it with equal ease. While they reveled and caroused in Naples, abusing the hospitality of their new subjects, and gathering plunder with reckless greed, a dangerous combination was formed against them throughout the peninsula. Before they

were aware, it had put them in peril, and Charles was forced to retreat with haste, in the spring of 1495, leaving an inadequate garrison to hold the Neapolitan capital. In Lombardy, he had to fight with the Venetians, and with his protégé, Lodovico, now duke of Milan. He defeated them, and regained France in November. The small force he left at Naples was soon overcome, and Ferdinand recovered his kingdom.

Retreat
of the
invaders,
1495

In one sense, the French had nothing to show for this, their first national expedition of conquest. In another sense, they had much to show and their gain was great. They had made their first acquaintance with the superior culture of Italy. They had breathed the air beyond the Alps, which was then surcharged with the inspirations of the renaissance. Both the ideas and the spoil they brought back were immensely valuable to France. They had returned laden with booty, and much of it was in treasures of art, every sight of which was a lesson to the sense of beauty and the taste of the people to whom they were shown. The experience and the influence of the Italian expedition were undoubtedly very great, and the renaissance in France, as an artistic and a literary birth, is reasonably dated from it.

Booty and
culture-gains
of the
French

Germany and the Holy Roman empire

That the German monarch, who claimed sovereignty over Italy, as king of the Romans and head of the Holy Roman empire, should have made no appearance as its defender against the French invasion, is evidence of the weakness of the state to which the empire, at this time, was reduced. On the death of Albert II., who was king of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as king of the Romans (emperor-elect, as the title came to be known), he was succeeded by his second cousin, Frederick, duke of Styria, and from that time the Roman or imperial crown was held continuously in the Austrian house. But Frederick did not succeed to the duchy of Austria, and he failed of election to the throne in Hungary and Bohemia. Hence his position as emperor was peculiarly weak and greatly impoverished, through want of revenue from any considerable possessions of his own. During his whole long reign, of nearly fifty-four years, Frederick was

Emperor
Frederick
III.,
1440-1493

humiliated and hampered by his poverty; the imperial authority was brought very low, and Germany was in a greatly disordered state. There were frequent wars between its members, and between Austria and Bohemia, with rebellions in Vienna and elsewhere; while the Hungarians were left to contend with the aggressive Turks, almost unhelped.

The Austro-Burgundian marriage, 1477

(See page 44)

But in 1477 a remarkable change in the circumstances and prospects of the family of the emperor was made, by the marriage of his son and heir, Maximilian, to Mary, the daughter and heiress of the wealthy and powerful duke of Burgundy, Charles the Bold. The bridegroom was so poor that the bride is said to have loaned him the money which enabled him to make a fit appearance at the wedding. She had lost, as we saw, the duchy of Burgundy, but the valiant arm of Maximilian enabled her to hold the Burgundian county, Franche Comté, and the rich provinces of the Netherlands, which formed at that time, perhaps, the most valuable principality in Europe. The duchess Mary lived only five years after her marriage; but she left a son, Philip, who inherited the Netherlands and Franche Comté, and Maximilian ruled them as his guardian.

Emperor Maximilian I., 1493-1519

In 1493, the emperor Frederick died, and Maximilian, who had been elected king of the Romans some years before, succeeded him in the imperial office. He was never crowned at Rome, and he took the title, not used before, of king of Germany and emperor-elect. He was archduke of Austria, duke of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and count of Tyrol; and, with his guardianship in the Low Countries, he rose greatly in importance and power above his father. But he accomplished less than might have been done by a ruler of better judgment and firmer will. His plans were generally beyond his means. He was eager to interfere with the doings of Charles VIII. and Louis XII. in Italy; but the Germanic diet gave him no effective support.

Austrian and Austro-Spanish dynasties

Maximilian figures most conspicuously in history as the immediate ancestor of the two great sovereign dynasties—the Austrian and the Austro-Spanish—which sprang

from his marriage with Mary of Burgundy, and which dominated Europe for a century after his death.

Nationalization of Spain

This connection of the house of Austria with Spanish royalty was made important by the national consolidation of kingdoms that had happened at this period in Spain, followed by the overthrow of the last Spanish kingdom of the Moors. The well-known marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, occurring in 1469, had brought the crowns of those kingdoms together, to be parted no more. The united Christian kingdoms renewed war with the decaying Moorish kingdom of Granada, and brought it to an end at the beginning of the year 1492. Excepting the small mountain kingdom of Navarre (of which the part lying on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees was seized by Ferdinand some years later), all Spain was now substantially one nation, the whole sovereignty of which passed to the descendants of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Conquest of
Granada,
1492

In 1496 Joanna, daughter and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella, was married to Philip, son and heir of Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy; thus gathering into one line of succession the great sovereign inheritances of Austria, Burgundy (including the wealthy Netherlands), and Spain, as well as the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which Ferdinand united ten years later, and of which Joanna became the heir. Two children, Charles and Ferdinand, were the fruit of the marriage of Philip and Joanna; and Charles, the elder of these, inherited more crowns and coronets than ever were gathered, in reality, by one sovereign, before or since. His importance in history will soon appear.

Union of
Austrian,
Spanish and
Burgundian
crowns

England solidified

In England, a solidified nationality was the natural product of the long civil wars that ended (save for one later battle) at Tewksbury in 1471, when the Yorkists triumphed and Edward IV. was settled on the throne. The mass of the people had taken little part in the conflict, and had been less disturbed than might have been expected; but the greater part of the old nobility of the

Green,
*Short
History of
the English
People*,
ch. vii, sect. 3

Decimation
of the old
nobility

kingdom had been destroyed, by slaughter in battle, by executions, by exile, or by impoverishment, and new families, with less prestige and power, rose to the higher ranks. Hence a weakening of the aristocracy, offering an increase of political power to the crown or the commons, or to both, was the chief consequence of the wars.

Political
incapacity
of the
commons

But the commons were not yet trained to act independently in political affairs. Their rise in power had been through joint action of lords and commons against the crown, with the former in the lead; they were accustomed to depend on aristocratic guidance, and to lean on aristocratic support. For this reason, they were not only unprepared to take advantage of the great opportunity now opened to them, for grasping the control of government, but they were unfitted, without the help of the class above them, to hold what they had won before. As a consequence, it was the king who profited by the decimation and impoverishment of the nobles, grasping not only the power which they lost, but the power which the commons lacked skill to use. For a century and a half following the Wars of the Roses, the English monarchy approached more nearly to absolutism than at any other period before or after.

Growing
absolutism
of the
monarchy

Edward IV.,
1461-1483

By unsparing confiscations, Edward IV. and his triumphant party not only crushed their opponents, but enriched the crown for a time and made it independent of parliamentary grants. When supply from that source began to fall short, the king invented another. He demeaned himself so far as to solicit gifts from the wealthy merchants of the kingdom, to which he gave the name of "benevolences," and he practiced this system of royal beggary so persistently and effectually that he had no need to call parliament together. He thus began, in a manner hardly recognized or resisted, the arbitrary and unconstitutional mode of government which his successors carried further, until the nation roused itself and took back its stolen liberties with vengeance and wrath.

Richard III.,
1483-1485

Edward IV. died in 1483, leaving two young sons, the elder not yet thirteen. Edward's brother, Richard, contrived with amazing ability and unscrupulousness to acquire control of the government, first as protector, and

presently as king. The young princes, confined in the Tower, were murdered there, and Richard III. might have seemed to be secure on his wickedly won throne: for he did not lack popularity, notwithstanding his crimes. But an avenger soon came, in the person of Henry, earl of Richmond, who claimed the crown.

Gairdner,
*History of
the Life and
Reign of
Richard III.*

Henry's claim was not a strong one. Through his mother, he traced his lineage to John of Gaunt, as the Lancastrians had done; but it was the mistress and not the wife of that prince who bore Henry's ancestor. His grandfather was a Welsh chieftain, Sir Owen Tudor, who won the heart of the widowed queen of Henry V., Catherine of France, and married her. But the claim of Henry of Richmond, if a weak one genealogically, sufficed for the overthrow of Richard, the red-handed usurper of the crown. Henry, who had been in exile, landed in England in August, 1485, and was joined by large numbers of supporters. Richard hastened to attack them, and was defeated and slain on Bosworth Field. With no more opposition, Henry won the kingdom, and founded, as Henry VII., the Tudor dynasty, which held the throne for a hundred and eighteen years. He established himself so firmly in the seat of power that three successive rebellions failed to disturb him. In one of these a pretender, Lambert Simnel, was put forward, who claimed to be the earl of Warwick. In another a second pretender, Perkin Warbeck, personated one of the young princes whom Richard III. had caused to be murdered in the tower. Neither of the impostures had much success in the kingdom. Henry VII. was not a popular king, but he was able and strong, and he solidified all the bases of monarchical independence which circumstances had enabled Edward IV. to begin laying down.

Henry VII.,
1485-1509

Gairdner,
*Henry the
Seventh*

Battle of
Bosworth,
1485

Lambert
Simnel and
Perkin
Warbeck

Northern and northeastern Europe

Since 1397 the three Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden and Norway had been ruled by a common sovereign, under arrangements that were known as the Union of Calmar. This union, brought about by the remarkable influence of Queen Margaret, a Danish princess, married to the king of Norway, was broken by

The Union
of Calmar,
1397

frequent revolutions and wars, but not finally dissolved until 1523.

Poland In the northeast of Europe, Poland had become a great power, under the Jagellon dynasty, sprung from the duke Jagellon of Lithuania, who married Hedwig, queen of Poland, in 1386, and united the two states. The Polish kingdom, at this time, seemed far more likely than any Russian power to dominate the Slavonic peoples. The Russians were still under the feet of the Mongols or Tatars, whose terrific sweep westward, from the steppes of Asia, had overwhelmed them completely and seemed to bring their independent history to an end. Slowly a Russian duchy had emerged, having its seat of doubtful sovereignty at Moscow, and being subject quite humbly to the Mongol khan. About 1477 the Muscovite duke of that time, Ivan Vasilovitch, broke the Tatar yoke and acquired independence; but his dominion was small. The Poles and Lithuanians, now united, had taken possession of large and important territories, formerly Russian, and the Muscovite state was entirely cut off from the Baltic Sea.

The discovery of the New World

Fiske, *The Discovery of America* We are now prepared, after surveying the situation in Europe, to return to those great geographical discoveries, in the last decade of the fifteenth century, which acted upon the Old World of history with prodigious effects.

Markham, *Life of Columbus* That Spain should have led Europe in the grand enterprise of navigation which found a New World on the other side of the globe, is one of the strange happenings of history that we need not try to explain; for (excepting the Catalans among them) no people were less inclined than the Spaniards to adventure at sea. But they had just finished the conquest of the Moors; their energies, long exercised in that struggle, demanded some new outlet; their national ambitions were high-strung; they were excited in zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith; and all these feelings had their influence, no doubt, upon the mind and spirit of their queen. So Columbus, seeking money and ships, and baffled in more promising lands, came to the Spanish court at the right moment for

How the grand prize of maritime adventure fell to Spain

a favorable hearing, and Castile won the grand prize of adventure, which seems to have belonged by a more natural right to the Portuguese, or the English, or the Flemings, or the Dutch, or the men of the Baltic Sea.

With his little fleet of three small caravels, Columbus sailed from Palos on the 3d of August, 1492, and sighted land on the 11th of October,—as the calendar of the Old Style marked the date, being the 20th in the reckoning of the present day. That first-found land was one of the small islands of the Bahama group; but the explorer had no doubt that he had reached the neighborhood of Cathay. Cruising thence southward, coasting Cuba and reaching Hayti, he supposed the former to be the Asiatic mainland and the latter to be Cipango (Japan), though he named it Española—Little Spain. At the end of December he turned homeward, and reached Palos in the middle of March, 1493, bringing news that caused excitement as fast as it spread. Yet nobody realized what he had done. All navigators and geographers appear to have believed, as he did, that he had reached some part of eastern Asia, called vaguely “the Indies,” which led to the giving of a meaningless name to the aborigines of the New World.

As soon as possible, a grant of sovereignty over the countries already discovered or to be discovered in the west was obtained from the pope, whose authority to dispose of heathen lands was hardly questioned at that day. Former popes had made similar grants to the crown of Portugal, covering all discoveries resulting from the explorations set on foot by Prince Henry. To prevent conflicts between the two kingdoms the reigning pope, Alexander VI., issued edicts or papal bulls, on the 3d and 4th of May, 1493, dividing the unexplored regions of the earth by a meridian line, drawn one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands, giving all west of it to Spain and all east of it to Portugal, so far as concerned countries not occupied already by Christian powers. By agreement, however, between Portugal and Spain, in a treaty signed at Tordesillas in 1494, this dividing meridian was moved to a point three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, which placed it at about $47^{\circ} 32' 56''$ west of Greenwich. For a long period

The discovery
by Columbus,
Oct. 20, 1492

Papal grants
to Spain and
Portugal,
1493

Treaty of
Tordesillas,
1494

Spain and Portugal strove hard to uphold the validity of these papal grants, and to maintain exclusive rights of discovery and sovereignty in the unexplored expanses of the globe; but respect for such claims of papal authority was passing rapidly away.

Second
voyage of
Columbus,
1493

On his second voyage, in 1493, Columbus found Jamaica and other islands; sought diligently for the great cities of Cathay and Cipango; searched for gold, with little success, and went through times of sore trial with the disappointed colonists he had brought out. He returned to Spain in the spring of 1496 and remained more than two years. His third voyage, in 1498, was

His third
voyage, 1498

directed on a more southerly course, which took him to the northern coast of South America, and showed him the mouth of the great river Orinoco, discharging a volume of water that could come from nothing less than a continental mass of land. He recognized the fact, but never doubted that the continent was Asia, or one lying near to Asia, on the south. When he reached the colony left on Española he found it in a state of rebellious discontent. For two years he struggled with enemies there and at the Spanish court, who succeeded at last in having him arrested and sent to Spain in chains. A kind reception by Queen Isabella gave some comfort to the disheartened and worn explorer; but his viceroyalty of the lands he had added to her dominion was not restored to him, and he received only a poor fleet of four caravels for a fourth exploring voyage.

His arrest
and return
to Spain in
chains

His fourth
voyage, 1502

On this fourth voyage, in 1502, he reached the coast of Central America, and attempted a colony at Veragua, on the Isthmus of Darien, with no better result than the giving of a name to the ducal title which his descendants have been permitted to bear. It was the end of his active career. He returned to Spain in 1504 and died on the 20th of May, 1506.

His death,
1506

Cabot's
voyages,
1497, 1498

Until 1497, Columbus was alone in the glory of his voyages to the New World. In that year John Cabot, another Italian navigator, residing in England, at Bristol, sailed westward, with a commission from King Henry VII., and is believed to have reached the Labrador coast. On a second expedition, the next year, Cabot seems to

have coasted the American continent from the vicinity of Labrador to Florida; but the records of his voyage are obscure. Probably he was the first European to reach the mainland of America; but some historians concede that honor to Americus Vesputius, the Florentine, who claimed in after years to have been the pilot and astronomer of a voyage in 1497, which found a continental stretch of coast in the Gulf of Mexico and skirted it eastward and northward for more than a thousand leagues. Most investigators of the subject, however, are persuaded that Vesputius made no such voyage.

Harris,
*The
Discovery of
North
America*,
1: bk. 1-2

Americus
Vesputius

The first undisputed voyage of Americus Vesputius was in 1499, when he accompanied one Ojeda to the northern coast of South America, which Columbus had visited the year before. On his next known voyage, in 1501-2, made in the service of Portugal, he explored the coast of Brazil, which another Portuguese navigator had touched the year before, and which Portugal could claim, because it projected far to the east of the dividing meridian line. It was this voyage that led, in a strange way, to the unmerited immortalization of the name of Americus, by attaching it to the new-found continents in the west.

Portuguese
discovery of
Brazil

After his return from the expedition of 1501-2, Vesputius wrote a letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, the great man of his native city, which was published in many editions, in all parts of western Europe, exciting deep interest everywhere. In that letter he spoke of the country he had just coasted as being *Mundus Novus*, a New World. The expression was caught up and began soon to be applied on maps and globes to the representation of a great continental island, placed at the south of Asia and below the equator,—detached entirely from the region, supposedly Asiatic, which Columbus had found. In 1507, a book published by Martin Waldseemüller, professor of geography at St. Dié, in Lorraine, suggested that this *Mundus Novus* of Vesputius be called AMERICA, in honor of him who had made it known; and the suggestion was acted on by various makers of maps and globes. They began by printing the name AMERICA on what purported to represent the new region of Portuguese discovery,—the country afterward called Brazil. Then, as knowledge of

How
America
obtained its
name

the great southern continent widened out, they stretched the same name over it all. Finally, when the supposed Asia at the north of it was found to be not Asia, but connected with and forming part of their *Mundus Novus*, they printed the name AMERICA across the face of the whole. So far as known, this was done first by Mercator, on a globe made in 1541. Thus, simply through default of any other denomination, the two great continents of the western hemisphere received an utterly inappropriate name.

Effects in
Europe of
the discovery
of America

Commercially, the discovery of America had little effect on Europe for a century or two. Politically, it had vast consequences in the sixteenth century, which came, in the main, from the power and prestige that accrued to Spain. But its most important effects were those moral and intellectual ones that arose from the sudden, surprising enlargement of the geographical horizon of men. The lifting of the curtain of mystery which had hung so long between two halves of the world must have compelled every man, who thought at all, to suspect that other curtains of mystery might be hiding facts as simple and substantial, waiting for their Columbus to disclose them; and so the bondage of the mediæval mind to that cowardice of superstition which fears inquiry, must surely have been loosened greatly by the startling event. But the Spaniards, who rushed to the possession of the new-found world, showed small signs of any such effect upon their minds.

Discovery of the ocean route to India

Commercial
importance
of the
discovery.

Yeats,
*Growth and
Vicissitudes
of Com-
merce*, pt. 2,
ch. xi and pt.
3, ch. i

In immediate material results to Europe, the discovery of the ocean route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, made by Vasco da Gama, in 1497, was vastly more important than Columbus's discovery of the New World. No sooner had the route by sea to southern and eastern Asia and the islands of spices been found, than almost the whole traffic of Europe with that rich eastern world abandoned its ancient channels and ran to the new one. There were several strong reasons for this. Firstly, it cost less to bring goods from southern and eastern Asia, direct to European ports, than to carry them over long

distances by land to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean and ship them thence to the west. Secondly, by taking its new route this commerce escaped troublesome Moorish pirates in the Mediterranean Sea. Lastly, European merchants gained great advantages from becoming able to deal directly with the eastern Asiatics, instead of trading with them at second hand, through the agency of Arabs and Turks, who controlled the Asiatic and African routes. So the commerce of the Indies, as it was called, fled away from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic; fled from the Venetians, the Genoese, the Marseillaise, the Barcelonians; from Constantinople, conquered lately by the Turks; from Alexandria, and from many cities of the Hansa league in the north, which had learned the old ways of traffic and were slow in waking to the change. Many of the great marts that had been busiest grew silent and fell into slow decay. The most enriching commerce of the world was passing to different hands and bringing younger races into the front of history.

Shifting of eastern trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic

Having found the way to India by sea, the Portuguese were prompt in measures to plant themselves firmly at points important for securing the eastern trade. One of the ablest of their military men, Francesco d'Almeida, was appointed viceroy of India and sent out with a strong force of ships and volunteers. He took possession of several parts of the Malabar coast of Hindostan, and built and garrisoned forts. Also, he established posts and trading settlements in Ceylon, in the Maldive islands, and in Sumatra. The Venetians, seeing that their trade with the east was doomed unless this new rivalry could be crushed, now joined their Mohammedan allies of Egypt in a great effort to drive the Portuguese back. A formidable fleet was fitted out on the Red Sea and sent against Almeida, who suffered defeat in his first encounter, but destroyed the navy of the allies in a second fight.

The Portuguese in the east

The successor of Almeida, as viceroy of India, was a remarkable personage, known as "the great Affonso d'Albuquerque." He was an extremely energetic commander, and very honest in his way, according to the notions of his time, though rapacious and cruel in what he

"The great Affonso d'Albuquerque," 1508-1515

did for Portugal. In the course of seven years he spread the Portuguese power so widely and fixed it so firmly on the East Indian coasts and in the neighboring seas that there was hardly an attempt to disturb it for many years. None but Portuguese ships dared enter the Indian Ocean without special permits, and the few that received permission were forbidden to trade in spices, the most precious merchandise of the east. From the Indies the Portuguese made their way to the coasts of China, but not within the period of our present survey.

The Portuguese were satisfied with keeping the sources of the supply of eastern commodities to Europe in their own hands. They brought to Lisbon the spices, silks, cotton, pearls, ivory, sugar, aromatic drugs, and the like, which their ships and merchants gathered up, and there sold them to other traders, Dutch, English and German, for the most part, who found the final markets for them and enjoyed a good half of the profits of the trade. These distributing shippers and traders derived more gain from this arrangement than from their trading with Genoa and Venice, and the commerce of Holland and England grew rapidly as the result.

Dutch,
English and
German
traders

Meantime, the Spaniards in America were giving little attention to possibilities of traffic with the new countries they found, but were searching busily for lands of gold and nations of wealth, whom it might become their happy fortune to subjugate, plunder and enslave.

Movements in Europe

Returning now to Old World movements, we shall find, perhaps, that the thread to be taken up most conveniently is that which was broken when we dropped the narrative of Italian affairs, after the French invasion of Charles VIII.

Charles VIII. died suddenly in 1498 and was succeeded by his cousin, of the Orleans branch of the Valois family, Louis XII. The new king was not a bad man, but weak. His first thought on mounting the throne was of the claims of his family to other thrones. Besides the standing Angevin claim to the kingdom of Naples, he asserted rights of his own to the duchy of Milan, as a descendant

Louis XII.,
of France,
1498-1515

of Valentina Visconti, heiress of the ducal house which the Sforzas supplanted. In 1499 he sent an army against Ludovico, the usurping duke, and the latter fled. Louis took possession of the duchy with the greatest good will of the people; but, before half a year had passed, French taxes, French government, and French manners had disgusted them, and they made an attempt to restore their former tyrant. The attempt failed, and Ludovico was imprisoned in France for the remainder of his life.

Milan
acquired by
the king of
France, 1499

Milan secured, Louis XII. began preparations to repeat the undertaking of Charles VIII. against Naples. The Neapolitan crown had now passed to an able and popular king, Frederick, and Frederick had every reason to suppose that he would be supported and helped by his kinsman, Ferdinand of Aragon, the well-known consort of Isabella of Castile. Ferdinand had the power to hold the French king in check; but, instead of using it for the defense of the Neapolitan branch of his house, he secretly and treacherously agreed to divide the kingdom of Naples with Louis. In these circumstances, the conquest was accomplished with ease. The betrayed Frederick surrendered to Louis, and lived as a pensionary in France until his death. The Neapolitan branch of the house of Aragon came to an end.

Treacherous
division of
the kingdom
of Naples

Louis and Ferdinand quarreled soon over the division of their joint conquest, and the latter sent forces into Italy which expelled the French. It was in this war that the Spanish general, Gonsalvo di Cordova, won the reputation that gave him the name of "the Great Captain"; and it was in this war, likewise, that the chivalric French knight, Bayard, began the winning of his fame.

Naples
won by
Ferdinand
of Aragon

Naples had slipped again from the grasp of France, and this time it had passed to Spain. Louis XII. abandoned the tempting kingdom to his rival, and applied himself to the establishing of his sovereignty over Milan and its domain. Some territory belonging formerly to the Milanese had been ceded to Venice by the Sforzas. He himself had ceded another district or two to the republic in payment for services rendered. Ferdinand of Spain had made payments in the same kind of coin, from his Neapolitan realm, for Venetian help to secure it. The

warlike pope Julius II. saw Rimini and other towns belonging formerly to the states of the church now counted among the possessions of the proud mistress of the Adriatic. All of these disputants in Italy resented the gains which Venice had gathered at their expense, and envied and feared her somewhat insolent prosperity. Suspending their quarrels with one another, they formed a league for despoiling her and breaking her down. The emperor Maximilian, who had grievances of his own against the Venetians, joined the combination, and Florence was bribed to become a party to it by the betrayal of Pisa into her hands. Thus was formed the shameful League of Cambrai.

League of
Cambrai
against
Venice, 1508

Hazlitt,
*History of
the Venetian
Republic*,
ch. 33

The French did most of the fighting in the war that ensued, though pope Julius, who took the field in person, proved himself to be a better soldier than priest. The Venetians were driven for a time from the greater part of the dominion they had acquired on the mainland, and were sorely pressed. But they made terms with the pope, and then it became his interest, not merely to stop the conquests of his allies, but to press them out of Italy, if he could. Accordingly he began to intrigue against the French, and presently had a new league in operation against them.

The warrior
pope, Julius
II.

His "holy
league"
against
France, 1511

It was called a holy league, because the head of the church was its promoter, and it embraced Venice, the emperor, King Henry VIII. of England, and King Ferdinand of Spain. As the result of the ruthless and destructive war which they waged, Louis XII., before he died, in 1515, saw all that he had won in Lombardy stripped from him and restored to the Sforzas—the old family of the dukes of Milan; Venice recovered most of her possessions, but never regained her former power, because the discovery of the ocean route to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, was now turning the rich trade of the east, the great source of her wealth, into the hands of the Portuguese. The temporal dominion of the popes was enlarged by the recovery of Bologna and Perugia and by the addition of Parma and Piacenza; and Florence, which had been a republic since the death of Savonarola, was forced to submit again to the Medici.

Its fruits

The fighting pope, Julius II., who made war and led armies, while professing to be the vicar of Him who brought the message of good will and peace to mankind, was very far from being the worst of the popes of his age. He was only worldly, thinking much of his political place as a temporal sovereign in Italy, and little of his spiritual office as the head of the church of Christ. But the recent predecessors of Julius II.—Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI.—had had nothing in their characters to lure attention from the examples of abhorrent wickedness which they set before the world. Alexander, especially, was almost a typical monster of crime and vice; yet he sat for eleven years in the seat supposed to have been sanctified by St. Peter, to be venerated as the vicar of Christ, the "Holy Father" of the Christian church. This evil and malignant being died in 1503, reputed to have been poisoned by one of his own cups, which he had brewed for another; but doubts of that story of his death have been raised of late. Julius II. reigned until 1513; and after him came the Medicean pope, Leo X., son of Lorenzo the Magnificent,—princely and worldly as Julius, but in gentler fashion; loving ease, pleasure, luxury, art, and careless of all that belonged to religion beyond its ceremonies and its comfortable establishment of clerical estates. Is it strange that Christendom was prepared to give ear to Luther?

The age
of wicked
popes

Pastor,
*History of
the Popes*,
v. 4-6

Creighton,
*History of
the Papacy*,
bk. 5 (v. 3)

Sixtus IV.,
1471-1484

Alexander
VI., 1492-
1503

Leo X.,
1513-1521

CHAPTER XIV

FROM THE ADVENT OF LUTHER TO THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

(A. D. 1517 TO 1556)

The Protestant Reformation: How Europe had been prepared to listen to Luther.—His ninety-five theses against the papal sale of indulgences.—Situation in Germany following the Austro-Spanish marriage.—The emperor Charles V.—His opposition to the Reformation.—His suppression of freedom in Spain.—His persecuting tyranny in the Netherlands.—His Italian wars with Francis I. of France.—Capture and sack of Rome by the imperial army under constable Bourbon.—Peasant war in Germany.—Progress of the Lutheran reformation.—The emperor's undertaking to repress it by force.—Religious war, followed by the Peace of Augsburg.—Abdication of Charles V.—Zwingli, and the Swiss reformation.—Persecution of reformers in France.—Calvin at Geneva.—Henry VIII. of England.—Base motive of his quarrel with the papacy.—Separation of the English church from the Roman.—Reformation in England under Edward VI.—Restoration of Catholicism under Mary Tudor.—Return to Protestantism under Elizabeth.—Reformation in Scotland and Scandinavia.—Gustavus Vasa.—The Council of Trent. *The Spaniards in America:* Cortes in Mexico.—Pizarro in Peru.—Spanish colonial policy.—Aztec, Maya and Inca civilizations.

This is the period of the Protestant Reformation, and its history is permeated with the influences of that secession from the great body of the Christian church, organized under the headship of a supreme bishop at Rome. Within the generation of Luther and his contemporaries, not much of lasting importance occurred, in politics and war, or in thought and letters, that did not connect in some way with the convulsion and disruption of the western church.

Luther and the Protestant Reformation

When Luther raised his voice, he did but renew a protest which many pure and pious and courageous men before him had uttered, against evils in the church. Some of them, like Peter Waldo and the Albigenses, had been

too far in advance of their time, and their revolt was hopeless from the beginning. Wiclif's movement had been timed unfortunately, in an age of great commotions, which swallowed it up. That of Huss had roused an ignorant peasantry, too uncivilized to represent a reformed Christianity, and had been ruined by the fierceness of their misguided zeal. The reformation of Savonarola, at Florence, had been nobly begun, but not wisely led, and it had spent its influence at the end on political aims. But there occurred a combination, when Luther arose, of character in himself, of circumstances in his country, and of temper in his generation, which made his protest more lasting in effect.

And the generation to which Luther spoke really waited for a bold voice to break into the secret of its thoughts concerning the church. It had inherited a century of alienation from quarreling popes and corrupted priests; and now there had been added in its feeling the deep abhorrence roused by such men as the Borgia in the papal chair, and by their creatures in the priesthood of the church. If it is crediting too much to the common multitude of the time to suppose them greatly sickened by the vices and corruptions of their priests, we may be sure, at least, that they were wearied and angered by the exactions of the church, which continually increased. The extravagance of the papacy kept pace with its degradation, and Christendom groaned under the burden of the taxes that were wrung from it in the name of the lowly Saviour of mankind.

Nowhere in Europe were the extortions of the church felt more severely than in Germany, where the serfdom of the peasants was still real and hard, and where the depressing weight of the feudal system had scarcely been lifted from society at all. Central authority remained as weak, and national solidification as far away, as ever. Of organic unity in the heterogeneous bundle of electoral principalities, duchies, margravates and free cities, which made up the nominal realm of the king of the Romans, there was no more at the beginning of the sixteenth century than there had been in the twelfth. But that very brokenness and division in the political state of Germany

*Cambridge
Modern
History, v.
2: The Ref-
ormation*
Ranke,
*History of
the Refor-
mation in
Germany*

The
predecessors
of Luther

Popular
discontent
with the
church

State of
Germany

Circumstances favorable to the Reformation

proved to be one of the circumstances which favored the Protestant Reformation of the church. Had monarchical authority established itself there as in France, then the Austro-Spanish family which wielded it, with the concentrated bigotry of their narrow-minded race, would have crushed the religious revolt as completely in Saxony as they did in their Austrian realm

Luther's ninety-five theses, 1517

The main events of the Reformation in Germany are known so commonly that no more than the slightest sketching of them is needed here. Letters of indulgence, purporting to grant a remission of the temporal and purgatorial penalties of sin, had been sold by the church for centuries; but none before pope Leo X. had made merchandise of them in so peddler-like and shameful a fashion as that which scandalized the intelligent piety of Europe in 1517. Luther, then a professor in the new university of Wittenberg, Saxony, could not hide his indignation, as most men did. He stood forth boldly and challenged the impious fraud, in a series of propositions or theses, which, after the manner of the time, he nailed to the door of Wittenberg church. Just that bold action was needed to let loose the pent-up feeling of the German people. The ninety-five theses were printed and went broadcast through the land, to be read and to be listened to, and to stir every class with independent ideas. It was the first great appeal made to the public opinion of the world, after the invention of printing had put a trumpet to the mouths of eloquent men, and the effect was too amazing to be believed by the careless pope.

Political motives coinciding with religious feeling

But more than possibly—probably, indeed—the popular feeling stirred up would never have accomplished the rupture with Rome and the religious independence to which north Germany attained in the end, if political motives had not coincided with religious feelings to bring certain princes and great nobles into sympathy with the Wittenberg monk. The elector of Saxony, Luther's immediate sovereign, had long been in opposition to the papacy on the subject of its enormous collections of money from his subjects, and he was pleased to have the hawking of indulgences checked. Partly for this reason, partly because of the pride and interest with which he cherished

his new university, partly from personal liking and admiration of Luther, and partly, too, no doubt, in recognition of the need of church reforms, he gave Luther a quiet protection and a concealed support. He was the strongest and most influential of the princes of the empire, and his obvious favor to the movement added immensely to its strength.

At first, there was no intention to break with the papacy and the papal church,—certainly none in Luther's mind. His attitude towards both was conciliatory in every way, except as concerned the falsities and iniquities which he had protested against. It was not until the pope launched against him the famous bull, *Exurge Domine*, which left no alternative between abject submission and open war, that Luther and his followers cast off the authority of the Roman church and its head, and grounded their faith upon Holy Scripture alone. By formally burning the bull, Luther accepted the papal challenge, and those who believed with him were ready for the contest.

The pope's
bull against
Luther, 1520

Luther and Charles the Fifth, emperor

To understand the situation in Germany at this time, we must learn what followed the Austro-Spanish marriage of Philip, son of the emperor Maximilian and of Mary of Burgundy, with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. Charles, the firstborn of that marriage, had not long to wait for the many and great inheritances that fell to him in due time. His father, Philip, died in 1506, and his mother, Joanna, lost her mind. The death of his Spanish grandfather, Ferdinand, occurred in 1516, and that of his Austrian grandfather, the emperor Maximilian, followed three years later. In his twentieth year (representing his mother in her incapacity), Charles found himself sovereign of Spain, America, Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, the Low Countries, Franche Comté, Austria and the duchies associated with it. The same year he was chosen king of Germany and emperor-elect, after a keen contest over the imperial crown, in which Francis I. of France and Henry VIII. of England were his competitors. On attaining this dignity, he conferred the Austrian possessions on his brother,

The many
crowns of
Charles

Ferdinand ; but he remained the most potent and imposing monarch that Europe had seen since Charlemagne.

His
antagonism
to reform

He came upon the stage just as Luther had marshaled, in Germany, the reforming forces of the new era against intolerable iniquities in the papal church. Unfortunately, he came, with his vast armament of powers, to resist the demands of his age, and to be the champion of old falsities and wrongs, both in church and state. There was nothing in the nature of the man, or in his education, or in the influences which bore upon him, from either the Spanish or the Austrian side of his family, to put him in sympathy with lifting movements or with liberal ideas. He never formed a conception of the world in which it looked larger to his eyes, or signified more to him, than the globe upon his scepter.

So, naturally enough, this Cæsar of the renaissance (Charles V. in Germany and Charles I. in Spain) did his utmost, from the day he climbed the throne, to thrust Europe back into the murk of the fourteenth century, from which he found it very nearly escaped. He did not succeed ; but he gave years of misery to several countries by his exertions, and he resigned the task to a successor whom the world will never tire of abhorring.

Luther
before the
Diet of
Worms, 1521

In 1521 Luther was summoned before a diet (assembly) of the empire, at Worms. The influence of the church, and of the young Austro-Spanish emperor, Charles V., was still great enough to procure his condemnation ; but they did not dare to deal with him as the council of Constance had dealt with Huss. He was suffered to depart safely, pursued by an imperial edict which placed the ban of the empire on all who should give him countenance or support. His friends among the nobles spirited him away and concealed him in a castle, the Wartburg, where he remained for several months, employed in making his translation of the Bible into the German tongue.

Germany
in the
emperor's
absence

Meantime, the emperor had been called away from Germany by his multifarious affairs, and had little attention to give to Luther and the questions of religion for half-a-dozen years. He was represented in Germany by a council of regency, with the elector of Saxony at the head of it ; and the movement of reformation, if not



LUTHER AT THE DIET AT WORMS

encouraged in his absence, was considerably protected, at least. It showed threatening signs of fanaticism in some quarters; but Luther proved as powerful in leadership as he had been in agitation, and the religious passion of the time was controlled effectively, on the whole.

Before the close of the year 1521, pope Leo X. died, and his successor, Adrian, while insisting upon the enforcement of the edict of Worms against Luther and his supporters, yet acknowledged the corruptions of the church and promised a reformation. His promises came too late; his confessions gave testimony to the independent reformers which their opponents could not impeach. There was no longer any thought of cleansing the church of Rome, to abide in it. A separated—a restored church—was clearly determined on, and Luther framed a system of faith and discipline which was adopted in Saxony, and then accepted very generally by the reformed churches throughout the German states.

Organization
of the
Lutheran
church

In 1525, the elector Frederick of Saxony died. He had befriended the Lutherans and tolerated the reform, but never identified himself with them. His brother, John, who succeeded him, made public profession of his belief in the Lutheran doctrines, and established the church system which Luther had introduced. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the dukes of Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Zell, followed his example; while the imperial cities of Frankfort, Nuremberg, Bremen, Strasburg, Brunswick, Nordhausen, and others, ranged themselves on the same side. By the year 1526, when a diet at Spires declared the freedom of each state in the empire to deal with the religious reform according to its own will, the Reformation in Germany was a solidly organized fact.

The new
church
system
established

Charles in his kingdom of Spain

The affairs which called Charles V. away from Germany, after launching his ineffectual edict of Worms against Luther and Luther's supporters, grew in part out of disturbances in his kingdom of Spain. His election to the imperial office had not been pleasing to the Spaniards, who foresaw the injury it would do to themselves,—the foreign character which their sovereign (already foreign

Prescott,
*History of
the Reign of
Philip II.*
bk. 6, ch. i

in mind by his education in the Netherlands) would be confirmed in, and the indifference with which their grievances would be regarded. For their grievances against the monarchy had been growing serious in the last years of Ferdinand, and since his death. The crown had gained power in the process of political centralization, and its aggrandizement from the possession of America began to loom startlingly, in the light of the conquest of Mexico, just achieved.

Spanish
revolt

The Santa
Junta
suppressed,
1521-1522

End of
popular
freedom in
Spain

During the absence of Charles in Germany, his former preceptor, Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, being in charge of the government as regent, a revolt broke out at Toledo, which spread widely and became alarming. The insurgents organized their movement under the name of the Santa Junta, or Holy League, and, having obtained possession of the demented queen, Joanna, they assumed to act for her and with her authority. This rebellion was suppressed with difficulty; but the suppression was accomplished, and it proved to be the last struggle for popular freedom in Spain. The government used its victory with an unsparing determination to establish absolute powers. The conditions needed for absolutism were created already, in fact, by the deadly blight which the Inquisition had been casting upon Spain for forty years. Since the beginning of the work of Torquemada, in 1483, it had been searching out and destroying every germ of free thought and manly character that gave the smallest sign of fruitfulness in the kingdom; and the crushing of the Santa Junta may be said to have left few in Spain who deserved a better fate than the political, the religious and the intellectual servitude under which the nation sank.

Persecution
of the
Spanish
Moriscoes

Charles encouraged and stimulated the work of the Inquisition, and pointed its dreadful engines of destruction against the unfortunate Moriscoes, or Moors. Many of those followers of Mohammed, after submitting to Christian baptism, had taken up again the prayers and practices of their own faith, either secretly or in quiet ways, and their relapse appears to have been winked at, more or less. For they were a most useful people, surpassing the Spaniards in industry, in thrift and knowledge of agriculture, and in mechanical skill. Many of the arts

and manufactures of the kingdom were entirely in their hands. It was ruinous to interfere with their peaceful labors; but Charles, while as un-Christian as the Turk when it suited his ends to be so, could look on these well-behaved and useful Moors with no eyes but the eyes of an orthodox piety, and could take account of nothing but their infidel belief. He began, therefore, in 1524, the heartless, senseless and suicidal persecution of the Moriscoes which exterminated them or drove them from the land, and which contributed signally to the making of Spain an exemplary pauper among the nations of the earth.

Charles in the Netherlands

In his provinces of the Low Countries Charles found more than in Spain to provoke his despotic bigotry. The Flemings and the Dutch, in recent years, had been tasting of freedom and free thought too much for his liking. They had become even riper than Luther's countrymen for a religious revolution, and were stirred even more by the trumpet-call sounded at Wittenberg.

In Germany, the elected emperor could fulminate an edict against the audacious reformers, but he had little power to give it force. In the Netherlands, he possessed a sovereignty more potent, and he took instant measures to exercise it to the fullest extent. The duchess Margaret, his aunt, who had been governess of the provinces, was confirmed by him in that office, and he enlarged her powers. His commands superseded the regular courts, and subjected the whole administration of justice to his arbitrary will. At the same time they stripped the provincial assemblies, called the "states" (estates), of their legislative functions and reduced them to insignificance.

His arbitrary
measures

Having thus trampled on the civil liberties of the provinces, he borrowed the infernal enginery of the Inquisition and introduced it for the destruction of free thought. Its first victims were two Augustine monks, convicted of Lutheranism, who were burned at Brussels in July, 1523. The first martyr in Holland was a priest, who suffered impalement as well as burning, at the Hague, in 1525. From those beginnings the persecution grew more cruel as the alienation of the stubborn Nether-

His
introduction
of the
inquisition

Its deadly
work

Motley,
*Rise of
the Dutch
Republic*,
I:114

landers from the church of Rome widened; and Charles did not cease to fan its fires with successive proclamations, or "placards," which denounced and forbade every reading of Scripture, every act of devotion, every conversation on religion, in public or private, which the priests of the church did not conduct. According to Motley, "the number of Netherlands who were burned, strangled, beheaded, or buried alive, in obedience to his edicts, . . . have been placed as high as 100,000 by distinguished authorities, and have never been put at a lower mark than 50,000."

Conflicts of Charles V. with King Francis I.

Hunt,
*History of
Italy*,
ch. viii-ix

Reestablish-
ment of the
French at
Milan, 1515

These exercises of an autocratic piety in Spain and the Low Countries were among the lighter employments of the young emperor during the earlier years of his reign. His more serious affairs were connected mainly with his interests or ambitions in Italy, which seemed to be threatened by the king of France. The throne in that country was now occupied by Francis I., a cousin of Louis XII., who had succeeded the latter in 1515, and who had taken up anew the Italian projects in which Louis failed. In the first year of his reign, Francis crossed the Alps with an army, defeated the Swiss whom the duke of Milan employed against him, and won the whole duchy by that single fight.

Alliance of
the emperor
and the
pope, 1521

This reestablishment of the French at Milan was regarded with exceeding jealousy by the Austrian interest, and by the pope. Maximilian, shortly before his death, had made a futile effort to dislodge them, and Charles V., on coming to the throne, lost no time in organizing plans to the same end. He entered into an alliance with pope Leo X., by a treaty which bears the same date as the edict of Worms against Luther, and there seems to be little doubt that the two instruments were part of one agreement between the emperor and the pope. Both parties courted the friendship of Henry VIII. of England, whose power and importance had risen to a high mark, and Henry's able minister, Cardinal Wolsey, figured notably in the diplomatic intrigues which went on during many years.

War began in 1521, and in three months the French were expelled from nearly every part of the Milanese territory. Pope Leo X. lived just long enough to receive the news. His successor was Adrian VI., former tutor of the emperor, who made vain attempts to arrange a peace. Wolsey had brought Henry VIII. of England into the alliance against Francis, expecting that the emperor's influence would give him the papal crown; but he was deceived.

The French
expelled
from Milan,
1521

Francis made an effort in 1523 to recover Milan; but was crippled at the moment of sending his expedition across the Alps by the treason of the constable, Charles, duke of Bourbon, the most powerful noble of France. The constable had been wronged and affronted by the king's mother, and by intriguers at court, and he revenged himself basely by going over to the service of Charles V. In the campaigns which followed, the French had ill success, and lost their chivalrous and famous knight, Bayard, in one of the last skirmishes of their retreat. Another change now occurred in the occupancy of the papal throne, and Wolsey's ambitious schemes were foiled again. The new pope was Giulio de' Medici, who took the name of Clement VII.

Treason
of the
constable,
the duke of
Bourbon,
1523

Once more the king of France, in October, 1524, led his forces personally into Italy and laid siege to Pavia; but his army was driven from the siege, and he himself fell into the enemy's hands. After a captivity in Spain of nearly a year, he regained his freedom disgracefully, by signing and solemnly swearing to a treaty which he never intended to observe. By that treaty he not only renounced all claims to Milan, Naples, Genoa, and other Italian territory, but gave up the duchy of Burgundy. Released in good faith on those terms, he repudiated the treaty, and began fresh preparations for war. He found the Italians now as ready to oust the Spaniards from their peninsula with French help, as they had been ready before to expel the French with help from Spain. The papal interest was in great alarm at the power acquired by the emperor, and Venice and Milan shared the feeling. A new "holy league" was formed, with the pope at its head, and with Henry VIII. of England for its "pro-

Defeat at
Pavia and
capture of
Francis I.,
1524

Holy league
against the
emperor

terior.” But before this league took the field with its forces, Rome and Italy were stricken and trampled, as though by a fresh invasion of Goths.

The
constable
Bourbon's
imperial
army

The imperial army, quartered in the duchy of Milan, under the command of the constable Bourbon, was scantily paid and fed. The soldiers were allowed to plunder city and country for subsistence, and, of course, all discipline was lost. When the region that they terrorized was exhausted, by their robberies and by the stoppage of industries and trade, it became necessary for the constable to lead them to new fields. His forces were made up in part of Spaniards and in part of Germans—the latter under a Lutheran commander, and enlisted for pillage in Italy and for war with the pope. He directed the march to Rome, constrained, perhaps, by the demands of his soldiery, but expecting to crush the league by seizing its apostolic head. On the 5th of May, 1527, his 40,000 brigands arrived before the city; at daybreak, the next morning, they took it by storm. Bourbon was killed in the assault, and his men were left uncontrolled masters of the venerable capital of the world. They held it for seven months, pillaging and destroying, committing every imaginable sacrilege and every possible excess. Rome is believed to have suffered at their hands more lasting defacement and loss of the splendors of its art than from the earlier sacking by Vandals or Goths.

Its capture
and pillage
of Rome,
1527

Trollope,
*History of
the Com-
monwealth
of Florence*,
bk. 10, ch. iii

The pope held out in Castle St. Angelo for a month and then surrendered. Charles V., when he learned what his commissioned bandits had done, made haste to express horror and grief, but did not hasten to check or repair the outrage in the least. Pope Clement was not released from captivity until a great money-payment had been extorted from him, with the promise of a general council to eradicate Lutheranism and reform the church.

The emperor
and the
pope

Europe was shocked by the barbarity of the capture of Rome, and the enemies leagued against Charles were stimulated to more vigorous exertions. Assisted with money from England, Francis sent another army into Italy, which took Genoa and Pavia and marched to Naples, blockading the city by sea and land. But the siege proved

French
disaster at
Naples, 1528

fatal to the French, and so many perished of disease that the survivors capitulated in September, 1528.

The great Genoese admiral, Andrea Doria, had been offended, meantime, by King Francis, and had excited his fellow citizens to a revolution, which made Genoa, once more, an independent republic, with Doria at its head. Shortly before this occurred, Florence had expelled the Medici again, and restored her republican government. But the defeat of the French before Naples ended all hope of Italian liberty. The pope resigned himself to the will of the emperor, and the papal and imperial despotisms became united as one, to exterminate freedom from the peninsula. Florence was the first victim of the combination. The city was besieged and taken by the emperor's troops, in compliance with the wishes of the pope, and the Medici, his relatives, were restored. Francis continued war feebly until 1529, when a peace called the "Ladies' Peace" was brought about, by negotiations between the French King's mother and the emperor's aunt. This was practically the end of the long French wars in Italy.

Hopeless
subjugation
of Italy to
the emperor

The Ladies'
Peace

Progress of the Reformation in Germany

Such were the events which, in different quarters of the world, diverted the attention of the emperor during several years from Luther and the Reformation in Germany. The religious movement in those years had been making a steady advance; yet its enemies gained control of another diet held at Spires in 1529, and reversed the ordinance of the diet of 1526, by which each state had been left free to deal in its own manner with the edict of Worms. Against this action of the diet, the Lutheran princes and the representatives of the Lutheran towns entered their solemn protest, and so acquired the name of "Protestants," which became, in most parts of the world, the accepted and adopted designation of all who withdrew from the communion of Rome.

Origin of
the name
"Protes-
tants"

Before this time, the Reform had passed through serious trials, coming from excesses in the very spirit out of which it had risen and to which it gave encouragement. The long-suffering, much oppressed peasantry of Germany, who had found bishops as pitiless extortioners as lords,

The
Peasants'
War
1524-1525

caught eagerly at a hope of relief from the overthrow of the ancient church. Several times within the preceding half-century they had risen in formidable revolts, with a peasants' clog, or *bundschuh*, for their banner. In 1525 fresh risings occurred in Swabia, Franconia, Alsace, Lorraine, Bavaria, Thuringia and elsewhere, and a great Peasants' War raged for months, with ferocity and brutality on both sides. The number who perished in the war is estimated at 100,000. The demands made by the peasants were for measures of the simplest justice—for the poorest rights and privileges in life. But their cause was taken up by religious fanatics, who became in some parts their leaders, and such a character was given to it that reasonable reformers were justified, perhaps, in their stern opposition. The wildest prophet of the outbreak was one Thomas Münzer, a precursor of the sect of the Anabaptists. Münzer perished in the wreck of the peasants' revolt; but some of his disciples, who fled into Westphalia and the Netherlands, made converts so rapidly in the town of Münster that, in 1535, they controlled the city, expelled every inhabitant who would not join their communion, elected and crowned a king, and exhibited a madness in their proceedings that has hardly a parallel in history. The experience at Münster may be thought to have proved the soundness of Luther's judgment in refusing countenance to the cause of the oppressed peasants when they rebelled.

The
Anabaptists
of Münster,
1535

Luther's
political
change

At all events, his opposition to them was bitter and hard. It has been remarked that Luther's political position in Germany had become quite changed. "Instead of the man of the people, Luther became the man of the princes; the mutual confidence between him and the masses, which had supported the first faltering steps of the movement, was broken; the democratic element was supplanted by the aristocratic; and the Reformation, which at first had promised to lead to a great national democracy, ended in establishing the territorial supremacy of the German princes. . . . The Reformation was gradually assuming a more secular character, and leading to great political combinations."

Dyer,
*History of
Modern
Europe*, 1 :
513

By the year 1530, the Emperor Charles was prepared

to give more attention to German affairs. He had beaten his rival, the king of France, had established his supremacy in Italy, had humbled the pope, and was quite willing to be the zealous champion of a submissive church. His brother Ferdinand, the archduke of Austria, had secured, against much opposition, both the Hungarian and the Bohemian crowns, and so firmly that neither was ever again wrested from his family, though they continued to be nominally elective for some time. The dominions of Ferdinand had suffered a great Turkish invasion, in 1529, under the sultan Solymán, who penetrated even to Vienna and besieged the city, but without success, losing heavily in his retreat.

In May, 1530, Charles reëntered Germany from Italy. The following month he opened the sitting of the diet, which had been convened at Augsburg. His first act at Augsburg was to summon the protesting princes, of Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg, and other states, before him, and to signify to them his imperial command that the toleration of Lutheranism must cease. He expected the mandate to suffice; when he found it ineffectual, he required an abstract of the new religious doctrines to be laid before him. This was prepared by Melancthon, and, known afterward as the Confession of Augsburg, became the Lutheran standard of faith. The Catholic theologians prepared a reply to it, and both were submitted to the emperor. He made some attempt to bring about a compromise of the differences; he demanded of the Protestants that they should submit themselves to the pope, pending the final decisions of a proposed general council of the church. When this was refused, the diet condemned their doctrines and required them to reunite themselves with the Catholic church before the 15th of April, in the next year. This was followed, in November, by an imperial decree, renewing the edict of Worms, and commanding that it be enforced.

The Protestant princes, thus threatened, assembled in conference at Schmalkald at Christmas, 1530, and there organized their famous armed league. Fresh preparations for war by the Turk now compelled Charles to make terms. The Lutherans refused to give any assistance to

Return of
Charles V.
to Germany,
1530

The
Confession
of Augsburg

Protestant
league of
Schmalkald,
1530

Peace of
Nuremberg

Austria or Hungary against the sultan, while threatened by the Augsburg decree. The gravity of the danger forced a concession to them, and, by the Peace of Nuremberg, it was agreed that the Protestants should have freedom of worship until the next diet should meet, or a general council should be held.

The
Protestant
German
states

Häusser,
*The Period
of the Re-
formation*,
190

This peace was renewed several times, and there were ten years of quiet under it, in Germany, during which time the cause of Protestantism made rapid gains. By the year 1540, it had established an ascendancy in Würtemberg, among the states of the south, and in the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Constance and Ulm. Its doctrines had been adopted by "the whole of central Germany, Thuringia, Saxony, Hesse, part of Brunswick, and the territory of the Guelphs; in the north by the bishoprics of Magdeburg, Halberstadt and Naumburg . . . ; by East Friesland, the Hanse Towns, Holstein and Schleswig, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Anhalt, Silesia, the Saxon states, Brandenburg and Prussia. Of the larger states that were closed against it there remained only Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate and the Rhenish electorates." In 1542, duke Henry of Brunswick, the last of the North German princes who adhered to the papal church, was expelled from his duchy and Protestantism established. At about the same time the archbishop-elect of Cologne announced his withdrawal from the Roman church.

Divisions
among the
Protestants

Charles was still involved too much in foreign wars to venture upon a struggle with the Lutherans; but a few years more sufficed to free his hands. The treaty of Crespy, in 1544, ended his last conflict with Francis I. In the same year, Pope Paul III. summoned the long promised general council of the church to meet at Trent the following spring—by which appointment a term was put to the toleration conceded in the Peace of Nuremberg. The Protestants, though greatly increased in numbers, were now less united than at the time of the formation of the Schmalkaldic league. There was much division among the leading princes. They yielded no longer to the influence of their wisest and ablest chief, Philip of

Hesse. Luther, whose counsels had always been for peace, approached his end, and died in 1546.

Death of
Luther, 1546

Circumstances were favorable to the emperor, when he determined to put a stop to the Reformation by force. He secured an important ally in the very heart of Protestant Germany, winning over to his side a selfish schemer, Duke Maurice of Saxony—now the head of one branch of the Saxon house. In 1546 he felt prepared, and war began. The successes were all on the imperial side. There was no energy, no unity, no forethoughtfulness of plan, among the Lutherans. The elector, John Frederick, of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, both fell into the emperor's hands. The former was compelled to resign his electorate, and it was conferred upon the renegade duke Maurice. Philip was kept in vile places of confinement and inhumanly treated for years. The Protestants of Germany were entirely beaten down, and the emperor imposed upon them a confession of faith called "the Interim," the chief missionaries of which were his soldiers from Spain.

The Schmal-
kaldic War,
1546-1547

"The
Interim,"
1548

But, if the Lutherans had suffered themselves to be overcome, they were not ready to be trodden upon in so despotical a mode. Even Maurice, now elector of Saxony, recoiled from the tyranny which Charles sought to establish, while he resented the inhuman treatment of his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse. He headed a new league against the emperor, which entered into a secret alliance with Henry II. of France (Francis I. having died in 1547). Charles was taken by surprise when the revolt broke out, in 1552. The operations of Maurice were vigorously and ably conducted, and the Protestants recovered in a few weeks all the ground lost in 1546-7; while the French improved the opportunity to seize the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun.

New league
against the
emperor,
1552

The ultimate result was the so-called "Religious Peace of Augsburg," which gave religious freedom to the ruling princes of Germany, but none whatever to the people at large. It put the two religions on the same footing, but it was a footing of equal intolerance, each ruler having the right to choose his own creed, and to impose it arbitrarily upon his subjects if he saw fit. As a practical conse-

Religious
Peace of
Augsburg,
1555

quence, the final division of Germany between Protestantism and Catholicism was determined substantially by the princes, and not by the people.

The humiliating failure of Charles V. to crush the Reformation in Germany was prominent, no doubt, among the experiences which sickened him of the imperial office, and determined him to abdicate the throne, which he did in the autumn of 1556.

Abdication
of Charles
V., 1556

Charles V. and the Barbary pirates

Not least among the troubles of the reign of Charles V. had been those which came from the rise and increasing power of what came to be known as the Barbary States, founded by piratical adventurers on the southern coasts of the Mediterranean Sea. The ports on those Moorish shores, as well as many islands in the Mediterranean, had sheltered pirates, both Christian and Moslem, for centuries; but no formidable organization among them sprang up until, in the early years of the sixteenth century, two brothers, who acquired the name of the Barbarossas (meaning the red-beards), gathered formidable fleets, with which they mastered both Algiers and Tunis, and established a lordship that was placed under the sovereignty and protection of the Turkish sultan. In 1535 Charles drove the pirates from Tunis; but attempting, six years later, to do the same at Algiers, he suffered a terrible disaster, losing the greater part of both the army and the fleet which he had led to the attack. A new piratical chieftain, named Dragut, then raised himself to power, recovered Tunis, took Tripoli from the Knights of St. John, and, as a vassal and ally of the sultan, defied all attempts of the Christian powers on the Mediterranean to check his destructive career.

The
Barbarossas

Piratical
lordships of
Algiers,
Tunis and
Tripoli

The Reformation in Switzerland

A generation had now passed since the Lutheran movement of Reformation was begun in Germany, and, within that time, not only had the wave of influence from Wittenberg swept over all western Europe, but other reformers had risen independently and contemporaneously, or nearly so, in other countries, working to the same end.

Beard,
*The Reformation
of the
Sixteenth
Century*
(Hibbard
Lectures),
lect. 7

The earliest of these was the Swiss reformer, Ulrich Zwingli, who began preaching against indulgences and other flagrant abuses in the church, at Zurich, in 1519, the same year in which Luther opened his attack. The effect of his preaching was so great that Zurich, four years later, had separated itself, practically, from the Roman church. From that beginning the Reformation spread so rapidly that, in half-a-dozen years, it had mastered most of the cantons of Switzerland outside of the five Forest Cantons, where Catholicism held its ground. The two religions were then represented by two parties, which absorbed in themselves all the political as well as the religious questions of the day, and which soon came to blows. The Catholics allied themselves with Ferdinand of Austria, and the Protestants with several of the imperial cities of Germany.

Ulrich
Zwingli

But such an union between Swiss and German Protestants as seemed to be desirable was prevented, mainly, by the dictatorial obstinacy of Luther. Zwingli's reforming ideas were more radical than Luther's, and the latter opposed them with irreconcilable hostility. He held with the Catholics to the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Swiss reformer condemned. Hence Zwingli was no less a heretic in Luther's eyes than in the eyes of the pope, and the anathemas launched against him from Wittenberg were hardly less thunderous than those from Rome. So the two contemporaneous reformation movements, German and Swiss, were held apart from one another, and went on side by side, with little of mutual sympathy or help.

Luther's
antagonism
to Zwingli

In 1531 the Forest Cantons attacked and defeated the men of Zurich, and Zwingli was slain in the battle. Peace was then concluded on terms which left each canton free to establish its own creed, and each congregation free to do the same in the common territories of the confederation.

Battle and
peace

The Reformation in France

In France, the freer ideas of Christianity that were in the upper air of European culture, when the sixteenth century began, had found some expression even before Luther spoke. The influence of the new classical learning;

Baird,
*Rise of the
Huguenots*,
ch. I-vi (v. 1)

Luther's
writings
burned by
the
Sorbonne,
1521

and of the "humanists" who imbibed its spirit, tended to that liberation of the mind, and was felt in the University of Paris, the greatest center of the learning of the time. It was not felt sufficiently, however, to overcome the conservatism of the Sorbonne—the theological faculty of the university; for Luther's writings were condemned and burned by that faculty in 1521, and a persecution of those inclined toward the new doctrines was begun.

Margaret of
Angoulême

Francis I., in whose careless and coarse nature there was some taste for letters and learning, as well as for art, and who patronized in an idle way the renaissance movements of his reign, seemed disposed at the beginning to be friendly to the religious reformers. But he was too shallow a creature, and too profoundly unprincipled and false, to stand firmly in any cause of righteousness, and face such a power as that of Rome. His sister, Margaret of Angoulême, who embraced the reformed doctrines with conviction, exerted a strong influence upon the king in their favor while she was by his side; but after her marriage to Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, and after Francis had suffered defeat and shame in his war with Charles V., he was ready to make himself the servant of the papacy for whatever it willed, in order to have its alliance and support. So the persecution grew steadily more fierce, more systematic, and more determined, as the spirit of the Reformation spread more widely through France.

Persecution
of the
reformers

Calvin in
Geneva,
1541-1564

One of the consequences of the persecution was the flight from France, in 1534, of John Calvin, who became subsequently the founder and the exponent of a system of Protestant theology which obtained wider acceptance than Luther's. All minor differences were merged practically in the great division between these two theologies—the Lutheran and the Calvinistic—which split the Reformation in twain. After two years of wandering, Calvin settled in the free city of Geneva, where his influence rose to so extraordinary a height that he transformed the commonwealth and ruled it, unselfishly, in perfect piety, but with iron-handed despotism, for more than a score of years.

The reign of Francis I. has one other mark in history,

besides that of his persecution of the Reformers, his careless patronage of arts and letters, and his unsuccessful wars with the emperor. He gave to the French court,—to the royal residence,—that character which made it in later French history so evil and mischievous a center of dissoluteness and of base intrigue. It was invested in his time with the fascinations that drew into it the nobles of France and its men of genius, to corrupt them and to destroy their independence. It was in his time that the court began to seem to be, in its own eyes, a kind of self-centered society, containing all of the French nation that needed or deserved consideration, and holding its place in the order of things quite apart from the kingdom which it helped its royal master to rule. Not to be of the court was to be non-existent in its view; and every ambition in France was invited to push at its fatal doors.

The French
court

Francis I. died in 1547, and was followed on the throne by his son, Henry II., whose marriage to Catherine de' Medici, of the renowned Florentine family, was the most important personal act of his life. It was important in the malign fruits which it bore; since Catherine, after his death, gave an Italian bend-sinister to French politics, which had no lack of crookedness before. Henry continued the war with Charles V., and was afterward at war with Philip II., Charles's son, and with England, the latter country losing Calais,—its last possession in France. Peace was made in 1559, and celebrated with splendid tournaments, at one of which the French king received a wound that caused his death.

Henry II.,
1547-1559

Catherine
de' Medici

England under the Tudors

It was in the reign of Henry VII., first of the Tudor sovereigns of England, that America was discovered, and he might have been the patron of Columbus, who applied to him for aid; he might have been the beneficiary of the great voyage,—proprietor and lord of the magnificent realm which Isabella secured; but he lacked the funds or the faith, and put aside his unequalled opportunity. When the field of westward exploration had been opened, however, he was early in entering it, sending Cabot on those voyages that gave England her claim to the North American coasts.

Two
important
marriages

During the reign of Henry VII. there were two quiet marriages in his family which had important results. One was the marriage, in 1501, of the king's eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine of Aragon, youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The other, in 1503, united the king's daughter, Margaret, to James IV., king of Scotland. It was through this latter marriage that the inheritance of the English crown passed to the Scottish house of Stuart, exactly one hundred years later, upon the failure of heirs in the direct line. The first marriage, of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, was dissolved by the death of the prince, in 1502. Seven years afterward the widowed Catherine married her late husband's brother, just after he became King Henry VIII., on the death of his father, in 1509. Whence notable consequences came.

Henry
VIII.,
1509-1547

Brewer,
*Reign of
Henry
VIII.*

Wolsey

Creighton,
*Cardinal
Wolsey*

It was the ambition of Henry VIII. to play a conspicuous part in European affairs. As England was rich and strong, and as the king had inherited nearly absolute power, his alliance was courted by all the parties to the great contests then going on. His ambitions ran parallel, too, with those of the able minister, Thomas Wolsey, who rose to high influence at his side soon after his reign began. Wolsey aspired to the papal crown, with the cardinal's cap as a preparatory adornment, and he drew England, as we have seen, into the stormy politics of the sixteenth century, with some gain to the nation of importance and prestige. When the emperor Maximilian died, in 1519, Henry entered the lists against Maximilian's grandson, Charles of Spain, and Francis I. of France, as a candidate for the imperial crown. In the subsequent wars that broke out between his two rivals, he took the side of the successful Charles, now emperor, and helped him to climb to supremacy in Europe over the prostrate French king. He had dreams of conquering France again, and casting the glories of Henry V. in the shade; but he carried his enterprise little beyond the dreaming. When it was too late to check the growth of Charles's overshadowing power, he changed his side and went into alliance with France.

The
ambitions
of Henry
VIII.

Henry's motives were always selfish and personal—never political; and the personal motives were now of the

basest kind. He had tired of his wife, the Spanish Catherine, who was six years older than himself. He had two pretexts for discontent with his marriage: (1) That his queen had borne him only a daughter, whereas England needed a male heir to the throne; (2) that he was troubled with scruples as to the lawfulness of wedlock with his brother's widow. On this latter ground he began intrigues to win from the pope, not a divorce in the ordinary sense of the term, but a declaration that his marriage was null. This challenged the opposition of the emperor, Catherine's nephew, and Henry's alliances were naturally changed.

His
discontent
with his
wife

The pope, Clement VII., refused to annul the marriage, and Henry turned his unreasoning wrath upon Cardinal Wolsey, who had conducted negotiations with the pope, and failed. Wolsey was driven from the court in disgrace and died soon afterward. He was succeeded in the king's favor by Thomas Cromwell, a more unscrupulous man. Henry had not yet despaired of bringing the pope to compliance with his wishes; and he began attacks upon the church and upon the papal revenues, which might shake, as he hoped, the firmness of the powers at Rome. With the help of a pliant minister and a subservient parliament, he forced the clergy in convocation to acknowledge him to be the supreme head of the English church, and to submit themselves entirely to his authority. At the same time he grasped the "annates," or first year's income of bishoprics, which had been the richest perquisite of the popes.

Refusal of
the pope to
annul his
marriage

His
retaliatory
attacks on
the church

In all these proceedings, the English king was acting in line with the continental rising against Rome, but not in friendliness toward it nor in sympathy with it. He had been among the bitterest enemies of the Reformation, and his enmity never ceased. He had won from the pope the empty title of "Defender of the Faith," by a foolish book against Luther, and the faith which he thus defended in 1521 was the faith in which he died. But when he found that the influence of Charles V. at Rome was too great to be overcome, and that the pope could neither be bribed, persuaded nor coerced to sanction the putting away of his wife, he resolved to make himself the pontiff of a separate

His hostility
to the Refor-
mation
movement

He makes himself the pontiff of a separate English church

Solely to accomplish the divorcing of his wife

England ripe for religious revolution

Edward VI., 1547-1553

church in England that would sanction the repudiation of his wife. He purposed nothing more than this. He contemplated no change of doctrine, no cleansing of abuses. He permitted no one whose services he commanded in the undertaking to propose any such change. So far as concerned Henry's initiative, there was absolutely nothing of religious reformation in the movement which separated the church of England from the church of Rome. It accomplished its sole original end when it gave finality to the decree of an English ecclesiastical court, on the question of the king's marriage, and barred Queen Catherine's appeal. It was the intention of Henry VIII. that the church under his papacy should remain precisely what it had been under the pope at Rome, and he spared neither stake nor gibbet in his persecuting zeal against reformers.

Of the five wives who succeeded Catherine of Aragon in wedlock with King Henry, two (Anne Boleyn and Catherine Howard) were put to death for alleged infidelities, one other (Anne of Cleves) was repudiated, one (Jane Seymour) died in childbed, and one (Catherine Parr) survived the king.

But the spirit of reformation in the atmosphere of the age lent itself, nevertheless, to King Henry's project, and made that practicable which could not have been so a generation before. The influence of Wiclif had never wholly died out; the new learning was making its way in England and broadening men's minds; the voice of Luther and his fellow workers on the continent had been heard, and not in vain. England was ripe for the religious revolution, and her king promoted it, against his own will. But, while his reign lasted, and his despotism was heavy on the land, there was nothing accomplished but the breaking of the old church fetters, and the binding of the nation anew with green withes, which, presently, it would break.

Dying in 1547, Henry left three children: Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon; Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, and Edward, son of Jane Seymour. The latter, in his tenth year, became king (Edward VI.), and his uncle, the duke of Somerset, acquired the control of

the government, with the title of protector. Somerset headed a party which began before the death of the king to press for more changes in the character of the new church of England and less adherence to the pattern of Rome. There seems to be little reason to suppose that the court leaders of this party were much moved in the matter by any interest of a religious kind; but the growth of thinking and feeling in England tended that way, and the side of Reformation had become the stronger side. They simply gave way to it, ceasing to repress movements of reform. At the same time, their new policy gave them more freedom to grasp the spoils of the old church, which Henry VIII. had begun to lay hands on, by suppression of monasteries and confiscation of their estates. The wealth thus sequestered went largely into private hands.

Green,
*Short
History of
the English
People*,
ch. vii

England
carried
into the
Reformation
movement

It was in the short reign of Edward VI. that the church of England took on its organic form as one of the churches of the Reformation, by the composition of its first prayer-books, and by the framing of a definite creed.

In 1553, the young king died. Somerset had fallen from power the previous year, and had suffered death. He had been supplanted by Dudley, earl of Warwick and duke of Northumberland, and that minister had persuaded Edward to bequeath his crown to Lady Jane Grey, granddaughter of the younger sister of Henry VIII. But Northumberland was hated by the people, and few could recognize the right of a boy on the throne to change the order of regal succession by his will. Parliament had formally legitimated both Catherine's daughter, Mary, and Anne Boleyn's daughter, Elizabeth, and had placed them in the line of inheritance.

Lady
Jane Grey

Mary's legal title to the crown was clear. She had adhered, with her mother, to the Roman church, and her advent upon the throne would mean the subjection of the English church to the papacy anew; since the new constitution of the church armed the sovereign with supreme ecclesiastical power. The Protestants of the kingdom knew what to expect, and were in great fear; but they did not dispute Mary's claims. Lady Jane Grey was recommended to them by her Protestant belief, and by her beautiful character; but her title was too defective and

Mary
Tudor's
title to the
crown

Execution
of Lady
Jane

her supporters were distrusted too much. There were few to stand by the poor young girl when Northumberland proclaimed her queen, and she was easily dethroned. A year later she was sent to the block.

Mary I.
(Mary
Tudor),
1553-1558

Mary Tudor, receiving the English crown in 1553, was married in the year following to her cousin Philip, of Spain (son of the emperor Charles V.), who was her junior by eleven years. It is not unfair to suppose that Philip encouraged the zeal of his consort, when she hastened to rekindle the fires of religious persecution and reestablish the supremacy of the pope. He tired of her quickly, and left her in 1555. In 1558 she died, and England, under her sister Elizabeth, was separated once more and finally from the church of Rome.

Elsewhere in Europe, however, a powerful reaction in favor of the papacy and against the Reformation was beginning to appear. Before considering it, let us glance at the movements of religious feeling in some other countries not yet discussed.

The Reformation in Scotland

John Knox

In Scotland, a deep undercurrent of feeling against the corruptions of the church had been repressed by resolute persecutions, until after the middle of the sixteenth century. Wars with England, and the close connection of the Scottish court with the Guises of France, had tended to retard the progress or the manifestation of sentiments in favor of reform. But when the pent-up feeling began to respond to the great Calvinistic evangelist and organizer, John Knox, it swept the nation like a storm. Knox's first preaching, after some years of captivity in France and exile to Geneva, was in 1555. In 1560, the authority of the pope was renounced, the mass prohibited, and the Geneva confession of faith adopted, by the Scottish estates. After that time the reformed church in Scotland—the church of Presbyterianism—had only to resist the futile hostility of Mary Stuart for a few years, until it came to a great struggle against English episcopacy, under Mary's son and grandson, James and Charles.

The Reformation in the north

In the three Scandinavian nations, the ideas of the Reformation, diffused from Germany, had won early favor, partly owing their reception, perhaps, to the political condition of affairs. When the ferment of the Reformation movement began, the three crowns were worn by one king, as they had been since the "Union of Calmar," in 1397, and the king of Denmark was the sovereign of the Union. His actual power in Sweden and Norway was slight; his theoretical authority was sufficient to irritate both. In Sweden, especially, the nobles chafed under the yoke of the profitless federation. Christian II., the last Danish king of the three kingdoms, crushed their disaffection by a harsh conquest of the country, and by savage executions, so perfidious and so numerous that they are known in Swedish history as the Massacre of Stockholm. But this brutal and faithless king became so hateful in his own proper kingdom that the Danish nobles rose against him in 1523 and he was driven from the land. The crown was given then to his uncle, Frederick, duke of Schleswig-Holstein, in which German duchy Lutheranism had already made its way. On coming to the throne of Denmark, where Catholicism still prevailed, Frederick pledged himself to do nothing against it; but he demanded and established a toleration for both doctrines, and gave the reformers a freedom of opportunity which undermined and overthrew the old faith.

Collins, in
*Cambridge
Modern
History* 2:
ch. xvii

The
"massacre
of Stock-
holm," 1520

Sweden, in the meantime, had undergone the important revolution of her history which placed the national hero, Gustavus Vasa, on the throne. Gustavus was a young noble who had no title to the crown save that which his own genius gave. After Christian II. had exterminated the elder leaders of the Swedish state, this young lord, then a hostage and prisoner in the tyrant's hands, made his escape and took upon himself the mission of setting his country free. For three years Gustavus lived a life like that of Alfred the Great in England, when he, too, struggled with the Danes. His heroic adventures were crowned with success, and Sweden, led to independence by its natural king, bestowed the regal title upon him and

Gustavus
Vasa,
1523-1560

1523

The Union
of Calmar
dissolved

seated him upon its ancient throne. The new Danish king, Frederick, acknowledged the revolution, and the Union of Calmar was dissolved. Sweden under Gustavus Vasa recovered from the state of great disorder into which it had fallen, and grew to be a nation of important strength. As a measure of policy, he encouraged Lutheranism, in order to break the power of the Catholic clergy, and also, without doubt, to obtain possession of the property of the church, which gave substantial revenues to the crown.

Italy and the Reformation

Spanish
domination

In Italy, the reformed doctrines obtained no popular footing at any time, though many among the cultivated people regarded them with favor, and would have welcomed, not only a practical purging of the church, but a revision of some dogmas that were offensive to intelligent minds. But such little movement as stirred in that direction was soon stopped by the success of the emperor, Charles V., in his Italian wars with Francis I., and by the Spanish domination in the peninsula which ensued thereon. The Spain of that age was like the bloodless octopus, which paralyzes the victim in its clutch, and Italy, gripped in half of its many principalities by the deadly tentacles thrust out from Madrid, showed, for the next two centuries, no conscious life.

The Council of Trent

Protestants
unrepre-
sented

The long demanded, long promised general council, for considering the alleged abuses in the church and the alleged falsities in its doctrine, and generally for discussion and action upon the questions raised by the Reformation, assembled at Trent in December, 1545. The emperor seems to have desired sincerely that the Protestants should be represented in the council, for a full discussion of their differences with Rome. But this was made impossible from the beginning. The Protestants demanded that "final appeal on all debated points should be made to the sole authority of Holy Scripture," and, this being refused by the pope (Paul III.), there remained no ground on which the two parties could meet.

The Italian prelates, who composed the majority of the council, made haste, it would seem, to take action which closed the doors of conciliation against the reformers. "First, they declared that divine revelation was continuous in the church of which the pope was the head; and that the chief written depository of this revelation—namely, the Scriptures—had no authority except in the version of the Vulgate. Secondly, they condemned the doctrine of justification by faith. . . . Thirdly, they confirmed the efficacy and the binding authority of the Seven Sacraments." "The council terminated in December with an act of submission, which placed all its decrees at the pleasure of the papal sanction. Pius [Pius IV. became pope in 1560] was wise enough to pass and ratify the decrees of the Tridentine fathers by a bull dated on December 26, 1563, reserving to the papal sovereign the sole right of interpreting them in doubtful or disputed cases. This he could well afford to do; for not an article had been penned without his concurrence, and not a stipulation had been made without a previous understanding with the Catholic powers. The very terms, moreover, by which his ratification was conveyed, secured his supremacy, and conferred upon his successors and himself the privileges of a court of ultimate appeal. At no previous period in the history of the church had so wide, so undefined, and so unlimited an authority been accorded to the see of Rome."

Declarations
of the
council

1563

Papal
supremacy
established

Symonds,
*Renaissance
in Italy:
the Catholic
Reaction*,
pt. I : 141

Some practical reforms in the church were wrought by the council of Trent, but its measures of discipline were less important than its dogmatic decrees. From beginning to end of its sessions, which, broken by many suspensions and adjournments, dragged through eighteen years, it addressed itself to the task of solidifying the church of Rome, as left by the Protestant schism,—not of healing the schism itself. The work which the council did in that direction was of vast importance, and profoundly affected the future of the papacy and of its spiritual realm. It gave a firm dogmatic footing to the great forces of reaction which now came into play, with aggressive enthusiasm and zeal, to arrest the advance of the Reformation and roll it back.

1545-1563

Dogmatic
solidification
of the
Roman
church

The Spaniards in America

By this time the Spaniards in America had found wonderful peoples to subjugate and plunder, and were gathering heaps of gold for themselves and for their king. Hernando Cortés was the first to lay hands on a notable prize of that kind. Another adventurer, storm-driven to the coast of Yucatan, in 1517, had caught glimpses of what seemed to be a state of civilization well advanced. Thereupon the governor of Cuba prepared a small expedition to that region, naming Cortés to the command, but recalling the appointment when the fleet was about to sail. Disregarding the governor's countermand, the audacious Hernando put to sea hastily and went his way to the Yucatan coast. With 553 soldiers, he landed at the Tabasco River, in February, 1519, and moved cautiously westward until he reached a port that he called Vera Cruz, where he established the headquarters of his campaign.

Hernando
Cortés

Cortés in
Mexico, 1519

Winsor, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
America*,
2: ch. vi

State of life
in the
country

Morgan,
*Houses and
House-life
of the
American
Aborigines*,
ch. x

Cortés found himself in the midst of communities that were in discontented subjection to a confederacy of three powerful tribes, seated in what is known as the Valley of Mexico. The Spaniards understood this confederacy to be a kingdom or empire, and they gave the title of emperor to its elected chief. This was one of many misconceptions that appear in the early Spanish accounts of the country as they found it, and which went uncorrected until a quite recent time. At present there is little doubt that the people whom the Spaniards were about to strike down were living in a state much like that of the so-called Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, at the present day. In the manner of the Zuñis, they inhabited great communal dwellings—huge fortified tenements, of sun-dried brick or of stone—in which one wall might inclose and one roof cover a whole *pueblo* or town. Apparently they had cultivated more and finer arts than the Zuñis exhibit, and their social organization was not so simple; but it is evident that the social scheme, the mode of life, and the type of civilization were substantially the same.

The tribes of the dominating confederacy and the subject tribes were of kindred stock, all belonging, in the

modern classification of American aborigines, to the division called Nahua, speaking dialects, that is, of a common language called Nahuatl or Nahua. The confederated tribes occupied three commanding *pueblos* or towns, named Tenochtitlan, Tezcuco, and Tlacopan, situated in and on one of the lakes in the Valley of Mexico. Tenochtitlan, which stood on the site of the modern city of Mexico, in the midst of what was then a partly artificial lake, was the most powerful and most impregnable in position of the three. It was inhabited by the tribe of the Aztecs, whose name has been misapplied, in various general ways. It was the real seat of the confederate power, and the residence of Montezuma, the federal chief. In the eyes of the Spaniards, when they came to it, this *pueblo* of Tenochtitlan—this original city of Mexico—was the capital of an empire, and its large communal dwellings were the palaces of the emperor and his great lords.

The Nahua

Tenochtitlan

Aztecs

Montezuma

The arrival of the invading Spaniards within the tributary dominion of the confederacy was made known quickly to its chief, who attempted to please them by rich gifts and induce them to depart. His gifts served only to inflame them with eagerness to lay hands on his treasury and make it their own. By secretly encouraging the disaffection of the subjugated tribes, inciting them to refuse tribute to the overbearing confederates, and craftily playing the part of friendly deliverers from a hateful yoke, they smoothed the way for their bold advance. In August, after sinking his ships, to make the expedition desperate, Cortés began his march, with about 450 men and 15 horses,—the latter of which were as strange and terrifying to the natives as the Spanish gunpowder and guns.

The advance
of the
Spaniards

At Tlascala, the invaders encountered an independent tribe, who fought them bravely and almost with success. When defeated, the Tlascalans sought alliance with them, and treated them with great hospitality in their town. At Cholula, which was subject to Montezuma, they were received with equal friendliness, but discovered, as they claimed, that this masked a treacherous plot. Forestalling the intended attack on them, they assaulted their hosts one morning at daybreak and committed a horrible massacre,

Alliance
with
Tlascalans

The
Spaniards in
Tenochtitlan

Montezuma
a captive

in which the Tlascalans, now their allies, took part. Terrorized by this example of the fierce prowess of the invaders, Montezuma made no attempt to resist their entrance into Tenochtitlan, but met them on their arrival, led them over the lake causeways into the water-girt town, and gave them quarters as his guests. The daring Spaniards had now ventured into a perilous situation; but they secured a certain protection for themselves by requiring Montezuma to reside with them, which the latter was weak enough to do. To the end of his life, in the following June, the ill-fated chief remained a captive in the hands of his insolent visitors, who practically ruled the confederacy in his name. Cortés wrung from him a pledge of vassalage and tribute to the crown of Castile, and even made a rash attempt to overthrow the idols of the bloody cannibalistic worship of the Aztecs; but this enraged the people as nothing else had done.

In May, 1520, Cortés learned that an expedition from the governor of Cuba had arrived at Vera Cruz, prepared to arrest him as a rebel and take official charge of the undertaking he had begun. With the overpowering energy that animated all his acts, he took part of his scanty force from Tenochtitlan (or Mexico, as we will call it hereafter), marched rapidly to the coast, surprised the hostile force, which had three times the number of his own, took its commander prisoner, and won over the whole body to enlist for service with himself. He now had an army of over a thousand well armed men, and needed them all; for news came from Mexico that the officer left in command there had provoked a desperate rising of the natives, and that the quarters of the Spanish garrison were besieged.

Rising of
the natives,
1520

Marching with great haste, Cortés reëntered the *pueblo* and rejoined his garrison on the 24th of June, doing so without resistance, though the Mexicans resumed their attack on the Spanish quarters the next day. Apparently they were willing that the hated intruders should be reunited, because they hoped to destroy them all. They would listen to no terms, assuring the Spaniards repeatedly that they meant to exterminate them, at no matter what cost of life among themselves. The wretched Montezuma,

brought out upon a battlement by his captors to speak to his people, was greeted with stones and arrows, and so wounded that he died. For a week the fighting was desperate on both sides; then Cortés determined to escape from the town. A stealthy retreat was attempted on the night of the 1st of July; but the Mexicans discovered it, and a frightful struggle occurred in the darkness, on causeways and bridges, leading to the shore of the lake. Four hundred and fifty of the Spaniards and 4000 of their native allies perished, and all of the Spanish records were lost.

Death of
Montezuma

Retreat
of the
Spaniards

With a half-starved and exhausted remnant of his force, the indomitable adventurer retreated to Tlascala, re-inspired his followers, obtained reinforcements from some quarter, built vessels to launch on the Mexican lake, and returned to the shores of that lake in December, within plain sight of the Aztec town, which he made ready to besiege. During the winter he overran the surrounding country; in May his attack on the *pueblo* was opened; on the 13th of August he became master of the few ruins that remained of the shattered and depopulated town. The spoil found was disappointing, and Guatemozin, the now ruling chief, was questioned under torture, to learn if treasures had been concealed.

Final
capture of
the Aztec
capital, 1521

The conquest of the Aztec confederacy was the conquest of most of the country, as far as news of what the Spaniards had done spread abroad. To the appalled natives they appeared irresistible, and submission awaited them, generally, wherever they went. On the site of Tenochtitlan a new capital of a new despotism was built. The country was named New Spain, and Cortés, forgiven at the Spanish court for the lawlessness of his remarkable exploit, was appointed governor and captain-general, with extensive powers. His restless energy was unsatisfied until he had extended his conquests to the Sea of the South, as the Pacific was called, and to the Central American countries of Guatemala and Honduras. In a personal expedition to the latter, he suffered great hardships and perils, and his long absence gave his enemies an opportunity to undermine him at the Spanish court. He was superseded in the governorship, and went to Spain

General
submission
of the
country

New Spain

Cortés
superseded

for redress, with only partial success. High honors were paid him; he was raised to the rank of marquis, and vast Mexican estates were granted him; his military command was undisturbed; but he was never again governor of the great American province he had added to the empire of Spain.

New Spain gratified the fierce lust of the Spaniards for gold and silver more than any other of the countries found thus far in their search. In the islands of the West Indies they had found little; in Florida, explored by Ponce de Leon in 1512, they found none; the Isthmus of Panama, where a colony was founded in 1511 (from which Balboa crossed to the Pacific two years later), yielded them a little more; but, according to the careful estimates of Baron Humboldt, their whole eager search for precious metals had yielded, as yet, only about \$260,000 per year. New Spain is estimated by the same authority to have raised their acquisitions of gold and silver (mostly the latter) to \$3,150,000 per year. But it was not until they found Peru that the grand prize of rapacity was won.

Early in the colonization of the Isthmus, the settlers there, among whom was Francisco Pizarro, gathered native rumors of a country far southward that abounded in silver and gold. In 1524 Pizarro formed a partnership with two others for an undertaking to find this inviting region and secure its wealth. From November of that year until early in 1528 two of the partners, Pizarro and Almagro, pursued their search, in repeated voyages, down the forbidding western coast of South America, undergoing dreadful hardships, wearing out repeated companies of followers, exhausting their resources, and plunging desperately into debt. At last, they reached the coast of what came to be called Peru, and found what they sought,—a people well advanced toward civilization in the arts of life, and showing a lavish possession of the precious metals that Europe craved.

Having seen enough to be sure that rich booty would reward a conquest, they hastened home for reinforcements and for a royal warrant to make their rights secure. Pizarro went to Spain for the latter, and spent a year in winning a commission from the emperor, Charles V.,

Spanish
gold-find-
ings

Francisco
Pizarro

Markham, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
America*,
2 : ch. viii

Discovery
of Peru

which gave him rights of conquest and made him captain-general and governor of New Castile, as the country of his discovery was named. It was not till the last days of the year 1531 that he was back in Panama and ready to sail for his field of conquest, with three small vessels and one hundred and eighty-three men. With this force he did nothing but seize and sack a town, which yielded considerable booty and enabled him to send to Panama for more men. After waiting seven months for a trifling reinforcement, Pizarro began his march along the coast, laying violent hands on whatever came in his way, overcoming all resistance, and finally founding a town, named San Miguel, at which he halted until further supplies came to him from Panama. While he was thus occupied, the nation that he aimed to overthrow was undergoing the calamity of a fierce civil war.

Preparing
for the
conquest,
1528-1532

Pizarro's
invasion
of Peru,
1532

The government of this remarkable country appears to have been one of the most perfect despotisms ever formed. It was obliterated so suddenly, with such unsparing vandalism, that our knowledge of it is deplorably incomplete. In some directions of culture the people subject to it had gone far; but they had invented no form of writing, and left no records, except in a mnemonic contrivance of knotted cords and colored threads (called *quipu*), which served, like the wampum of the North American Indians, to assist a mere memorizing of events. Few of their traditions, little of their unwritten poetry and legend, survived the extermination that the empire and its people underwent.

The empire
of the Incas

Quipu

The empire is known as that of the Incas, the word Inca signifying sometimes the title of the sovereign and sometimes the name of a dominant group of tribes. Definite knowledge of the origin of the Inca domination is wanting; but it is believed to date no earlier than about the middle of the thirteenth century of our Christian era, and to have been preceded by an even greater empire, named traditionally the empire of the Piruas. "Cyclopean ruins, quite foreign to the genius of Inca architecture, point to this conclusion. The wide area over which they are found is an indication that the government which caused them to be built ruled over an extensive empire,

The Incas

The
prehistoric
Piruas

Markham, in
*Narrative and Critical
History of
America*,
1: ch. iv

while their cyclopean character is a proof that their projectors had an almost unlimited supply of labor. Religious myths and dynastic traditions throw some doubtful light on that remote past." Apparently this prehistoric empire was broken up long before the Incas began conquests that founded another on the same field.

The Inca
civilization

The sovereign Inca was a sacred being to his subjects; his authority was paternal and absolute, extending to the particulars of domestic life, as well as to public affairs. The resources of the country and the labor of the people were at his disposal, and appear to have been used with thoroughly systematic and careful thrift. Broad, smoothly paved roads, running to every part of the mountainous empire, with comfortable rest-houses at frequent intervals; hills terraced for the completest economy of agriculture; natural deserts irrigated; soil and waters everywhere conserved; imposing temples, palaces, and public squares,—all attested a measure of civilization that excited the wonder but could not command the respect of the barbarians who came to strike it down.

Civil war in
the empire

Some years before the arrival of the Spaniards an unfortunate division of the empire occurred. It ensued upon the death, about 1523, of an Inca, Huayna Capac, who, having added the lordship of Quito to his dominions, either gave it to a favorite son, Atahualpa, who was not the heir to the throne of the Incas, or left the empire in circumstances which enabled Atahualpa, when his father died, to establish himself at Quito as a rival prince. Thereupon war ensued between the rightful Inca, Huascar, and this half-brother, Atahualpa, which terminated in the triumph of the latter, at exactly the time when Pizarro was making ready for his attack.

Pizarro's
meeting
with the
Inca

When the Spanish invaders moved from San Miguel, in September, 1532, it was to meet Atahualpa at Cassamarca, to which place that prince had advanced from Quito, on his way to Cuzco, the Inca capital. Friendly messages invited them to come as peaceful visitors; they were hospitably entertained on the way, and hospitably received at Cassamarca when they arrived; but a large army of the Inca's was in camp near the town, and probably his intentions concerning them were not so

friendly as they seemed. If a game of treachery was to be played, Pizarro was not the man to lose the lead. He prepared his forces for a daring seizure of the person of the Inca, when the latter came to visit him on the following day, and the plan was carried out with frightful audacity, though 2,000 of the numerous attendants of Atahualpa died in his defense.

Pizarro's
seizure
of the Inca,
Atahualpa

The captured Inca submitted stoically to his fate, and offered to ransom himself by filling a room of good size with gold to the height of about nine feet. The offer was accepted and the ransom was paid. Vessels, ornaments, and great slabs and plates of gold, stripped from palaces and temples, came from all parts of the empire, till the specified room was filled. The total value of the gold was estimated at 4,605,670 ducats, equivalent to about \$17,500,000 in our money of the present day. And when the faithless, soulless conquerors had secured and divided this stupendous booty, wrung as a ransom from their royal captive, they put him to death, thinking that the country would be more submissive if it had no king. A few honorable cavaliers protested, but were powerless to prevent the infamous deed. It is impossible not to feel some degree of satisfaction in reading of the fierce warfare that broke out presently between Pizarro and his partner, Almagro, carrying both of them to a tragical ending of their bloody careers. But Peru was only trampled the worse and crushed to a ruin more complete while these conflicts among its masters, the brutal spoils-hunters from Europe, went on.

The
ransom of
Atahualpa

Perfidious
execution of
the Inca

The vast accumulations of gold that the Spaniards found in the possession of the Incas were the least part of the wealth they derived from Peru. After the discovery of the rich silver mines of Potosi, in 1546, that metal was the chief product of the country, and supplied most of the great revenue of the sovereigns of Spain. For the working of the mines, and for all other labors required by the conquerors, the natives were enslaved, and destroyed rapidly by the unmerciful hardness of their toil.

The mines
of Potosi

This enslavement of natives was begun in the early years of the Spanish settlement of Hispaniola. First there was a tribute levied on them; then labor was

Spanish
enslavement
of American
natives

Repartimi-
entos and
encomiendas

Helps,
*Spanish
Conquest in
America*,
3 : 113

Bartolomé
de las Casas,
"Protector
of the
Indians"

The "New
Laws," 1542

exacted to work out the tribute; then the laborers were portioned out among the colonists and adventurers, to render the services required,—so many assigned to this one and so many to that one, all being nominally mere tribute-payers, still, working under the direction of their chiefs. This apportionment of the tributary labor was described as a system of *repartimientos*, or shares. It gave way quickly to the final system of *encomiendas*, which was slavery complete. As defined by Spanish jurists, from whom Sir Arthur Helps has quoted, an *encomienda* was "a right, conceded by royal bounty to well-deserving persons in the Indies, to receive and enjoy for themselves the tributes of the Indians who should be assigned to them, with a charge of providing for the good of those Indians in spiritual and temporal matters, and of inhabiting and defending the provinces where those *encomiendas* should be granted to them." This established slavery under a pious missionary guise, which the early adventurers in the New World tried generally to have their undertakings put on; but interest in the bodies of the wretched Indians was seldom commensurate with the interest in their souls. They were tasked and treated with a deadly cruelty that excited the compassion and indignation of the better men who came to the colonies, especially of the Dominican monks.

One noble Christian and humanitarian, Bartolomé de las Casas, who came to Hispaniola as a lay colonist, and who received an *encomienda*, saw the wickedness and destructiveness of the system quickly, and devoted his life to efforts for its abolition. In 1510 he became a priest, and later he joined the Dominican brotherhood, from which he received his best support. He enlisted the pope, the emperor-king, and the powerful Spanish minister, Cardinal Ximenes, in the cause of the oppressed natives, obtaining strenuous orders and edicts, with large powers to himself, in an office which entitled him "Protector of the Indians"; yet the cruelties went on for years with not much check, and the native population of every subjugated region (less in Mexico than elsewhere, it is said) faded rapidly away. In 1542, by what were styled the New Laws of Charles V., the further making of Indian slaves

was prohibited absolutely; but existing *encomiendas* were inheritable for two lives.

Indian slaves were succeeded in the Spanish colonies by negro slaves, the importation of which from Africa was countenanced and encouraged, at first, by Las Casas, in the eagerness of his desire to save the perishing natives. It was an error that he repented of in later life with bitter grief.

Negro
slavery

The whole subject of the colonial system of Spain and of the Spanish treatment of subjugated natives in America, is discussed in quite a new spirit and under new light by Professor Bourne, in his lately published *Spain in America*. Professor Bourne's study of early conditions in Spanish America appears to have been unusually careful, candid and thorough, and the result, as summarized by the editor of the series to which his work belongs, "is to establish the existence of a Spanish culture in the colonies of an extent and degree not realized by previous writers. He shows that the first century of Spanish colonists produced larger results in relation to the natives, the building of towns and cities, the construction of roads and bridges, and the encouragement of learning, than in the first century either of French or English colonization. Yet he points out the two fatal weaknesses of the Spanish system: the wretched restrictions of trade and the lack of initiative and self-government. Upon the whole, he thinks the Indian better off under Spanish rule than has generally been supposed and the institution of negro slavery milder and of less importance. On the other hand, he points out, what has escaped most writers, that the prosperity of the mainland led almost to the depopulation of the islands, which did not again become important until about the time of the American Revolution." In Professor Bourne's opinion, Las Casas' writings on the treatment of the Indians have been too exclusively "the stock material of generations of historical writers. It has been forgotten that his book was the product of a fierce agitation, or that it was written before the Spaniards had been fifty years in the New World." "Two centuries of philanthropic legislation has been thrown into the background by the flaming words which first gave it impulse. Las Casas was the

The Spanish
colonial
system and
its fruits

Its merits
and defects

The Las
Casas view
one-sided

Lloyd Garrison of Indian rights; but it is as one-sided to depict the Spanish Indian policy primarily from his pages as it would be to write a history of the American negro question exclusively from the files of the *Liberator*." "The Indian legislation of the Spanish kings," says Professor Bourne in another place, "is an impressive monument of benevolent intentions which need not fear comparison with the contemporary legislation of any European country affecting the status of the working classes." Again, he finds that "the Spanish slave code was far more humane than either the French or the English slave laws"; but "whether Spanish slaves were more kindly treated than French or English is a different and more difficult question." The extent to which the native races have been preserved from extinction, not on the islands, but in most of the provinces of the mainland, and especially in Mexico, leads the Professor to remark that a comparison of the Spanish system with our own "does not warrant self-righteousness on the part of the English in America." Of the care for education in the Spanish colonies, he does not hesitate to say that the institutions founded in Mexico in the sixteenth century, "in number, range of studies, and standard of attainments by the officers," "surpassed anything existing in English America until the nineteenth century."

Spanish invasion and conquest overwhelmed, in Mexico, Central America and Peru, the only native communities of the New World that had risen above barbaric conditions of life. The Mexicans were still at a low stage of barbarism in their religious rites, which included the most horrible requirements of human sacrifice ever known, with a more horrible eating of human flesh. The Spaniards who captured the Aztec *pueblo* claimed to have counted, in a building connected with the great *teocalli*, or sacrificial pyramid of the town, one hundred and thirty-six thousand skulls, representing the victims of sacrifice on that altar alone. The Mexicans made wars upon their neighbors, as much for the capture of men, women and children to be offered to the gods, as for conquest and spoils. But otherwise, in the arts they practiced, in their social and political institutions, and in

Spanish
slave code

Survival of
native stocks

Education
in colonial
Mexico

Bourne,
*Spain in
America*,
256-7, 280-
81, 306, 310

The native
civilization
in America

Nadaillac
*Prehistoric
America*,
ch. v-viii
Brinton,
*Races and
Peoples*,
259-276

Horrible
religious
rites in
Mexico

their modes of life, they were distinctly in advance of what is usually rated as belonging to the barbaric state. They had developed a scheme of communication and record by picture signs, which was the beginning of a hieroglyphic system of writing, and which would, without doubt, have been worked out, in time, to something like the Egyptian result. Gold, silver, lead and copper were worked by them with considerable skill; and there is some evidence of an acquaintance with bronze; but iron was unknown.

Mexican
picture
writing

Native arts

In Central America (including the extreme south-eastern part of modern Mexico) a degree of civilization higher than that found among the Nahuas had existed at some time, but was a thing of the past in its superior features when that field of Spanish conquest was reached. The people who attained it differed in language from the Nahuas, and are known as the Mayas, or the Maya-Quiché tribes. In imposing and durable edifices, in monumental sculpture, in inscriptions and other literary remains, the Mayas have left more striking memorials of themselves and their culture, surviving to the present day, than exist in central Mexico or in Peru. The remarkable ruins at Palenque, Uxmal, Copan, and other points in the isthmian region of the Americas, have given rise to the most puzzling and most interesting questions in American archæology. There are many theories as to the relation of the superior Maya culture to that of the tribes farther north, and as to the causes of its arrest before the arrival of the Spaniards; but no conclusions that rest on substantial grounds have been reached.

The Maya
civilization
in Central
America

Its remains

Though even the beginning of an art of writing had not been made by the Peruvian peoples, and their achievements in architecture did not equal those of the Mayas, there appears to have been more refinement in their culture than in either of the semi-civilizations at the north. Worship of the sun was fundamental in the religion of all three communities, connected in all three with idol worship, representative of efforts to propitiate various forces in nature; but the spiritual idea of a Supreme Being, creator and ruler of all, is found most distinctly apprehended in the Peruvian mind. Nothing

The
Peruvian
civilization

Its superior
refinement

sanguinary and abhorrent was in their religious rites. Their political system—theocratic, autocratic, and socialistic—was one that could not fail to be destructive of national character in the end; but as a social contrivance it was fine, and it was finely worked out.

Want of
domestic
animals in
America

The Peruvians, who had domesticated the llama for burden-bearing and the alpaca for its wool, were the only aboriginal people in America that had acquired such dumb helps. In the northern continent no beast appears to have been capable of domestication, except the wolf, from which a poor species of dog was derived. The horse had a primitive existence in America, as shown by fossil remains, but the species had become extinct, and the bison had not been tamed. Without beasts of burden or flocks and herds, most peoples of the American race were handicapped seriously in their rise out of primitive conditions of life.

The
European
knowledge
of America

Europe had now acquired a fairly correct knowledge of the coast outlines of America, as a continental mass of land distinct from Asia, but knew little of the greater part of its interior, and had misleading notions concerning its breadth. Except in the northwestern section of South America, where the El Dorado fable kept it active, the work of exploration had halted after the first generation of discoverers was dead. Most of the undertakings of the Spaniards had been confined to that limited section of South America and to the islands and the borders of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea.

Early
explorations
inland

Ponce de Leon had penetrated Florida in 1512, searching for a reputed fountain of perpetual youth; Alvarez de Pineda had entered the lower waters of the Mississippi in 1519; Cabeza de Vaca, as a captive in the hands of the Indians, from 1528 to 1536, had wandered from the coast of Texas to a Spanish outpost in Mexico, and seen much; Hernando de Soto, starting in 1539, had led an expedition from western Florida northward to the Savannah River, thence westward to the Mississippi, crossing it and moving up its western bank to some point probably within the present State of Missouri, from which he turned back, and died on the southward march, in 1542; Francisco de Coronado, in 1540, had gone northward from Mexico,

Hernando
de Soto,
1539-1542

Coronado,
1540

searching for seven wonderful cities (the "seven cities of Cibola"), reported to be somewhere in that land, and is believed to have found what he sought in the *pueblos* of the New Mexican Zuñis,—from which he passed on, even as far as to Colorado, but missed the discovery of its mines.

In South America, Sebastian Cabot, in the service of Spain, during five years from 1526, had explored the La Plata, the Parana, and the Paraguay, for long distances, and attempted a settlement on the latter stream. Francisco de Orellana, sent with one of the brothers of Pizarro, in 1539, over the mountains from Quito, reached the upper waters of the Amazon and sailed down the whole length of that great river to its mouth, making a voyage of seven months. This was one of the first of many desperately eager plunges that were made into the wild interior of what are now the republics and colonies of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Guiana, searching for the imagined El Dorado. That groundless myths descriptive of that golden city and its gilded king should have persisted, and should have exercised their deluding influence for more than half a century, is one of the strange facts in the history of the New World. In other parts of the Americas all frenzied searching for more Mexicos and Perus had ceased long before the El Dorado madness was worn out.

Explora-
tions in
South
America,
1526-1539

The
searching for
El Dorado

CHAPTER XV

FROM THE ABDICATION OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. TO THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE

(A. D. 1556 TO 1610)

Catholic reaction: Intrusion of mercenary and political motives in the Reformation movement.—Protestant divisions.—Purification of the papacy.—Organization of the Society of Jesus.—Malignant power of Philip II. of Spain. *Spain and the Netherlands:* The ruining of Spain.—Philip's despotism in the Netherlands.—Alva and his "Council of Blood."—Fate of Egmont and Horn.—The revolt.—Success of the "sea-beggars."—Heroic struggle of the Dutch for freedom.—Philip's assassination of its great leader, William the Silent.—Eastern trade won by the Dutch and English. *Religious Wars in France:* The contestants for power.—The Guises.—Catherine de' Medici.—The Huguenots as a party.—The Bourbons of Navarre.—Admiral Coligny.—Meddling of Philip of Spain.—The massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.—Accession of Henry of Navarre to the throne.—His abjuration of Protestantism.—His Edict of Nantes. *Germany:* Events leading to the "Thirty Years War." *England:* Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots.—Execution of Mary.—The Spanish armada.—Half-piratical warfare with Spain.—The Elizabethan age. *America:* Undertakings of the French.—Hawkins's slave-trading and Drake's piracies.—Projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.—Raleigh's colonies.—The Virginia Company.—The Jamestown colony and Captain John Smith.—French and Dutch settlements. *China and Japan:* Opening of Christian missions.—Reconstruction of Japan by Ieyasu.—Suppression of Christianity. *India:* Founding of the Moghul empire.

A powerful and effectual reaction against the movement of the Protestant Reformation became manifest in many parts of Europe at about the beginning of the period which this chapter will review. It not only placed an early check on the further spreading of the Protestant secession from Rome, but drove the seceding churches back from large parts of the ground they had acquired. By the end of the century it had reëstablished the authority of the papacy with new firmness in substantially the regions that are Roman Catholic at the present day.

Causes of a great Catholic Reaction

The extraordinary revival of Catholicism that brought

about this reaction and accomplished its results had several causes within it and behind.

1. The spiritual impulse from which the Reformation started had spent itself considerably, or had become debased by a gross admixture of political and mercenary aims. In Germany, the spoils derived from the suppressing of monastic establishments and the secularizing of ecclesiastical fiefs and estates, appeared very early among the potent inducements by which mercenary princes were drawn to the side of the Lutheran reform. Later, as the opposing leagues, Protestant and Catholic, settled into chronic opposition and hostility, the struggle between them took on more and more the character of a great political game, and lost more and more the spirit of a battle for free conscience and a free mind. In France, the political entanglements of the Reformation party (called Huguenots) were such, by this time, that it could not fail to be lowered in its religious tone. In England, till the death of Henry VIII., every breath of spirituality in the movement had been stifled, and it showed nothing but a brazen political front to the world. In the Netherlands, the struggle for religious freedom was about to merge itself in a fight of forty years for self-government, and the fortitude and valor of the citizen were developed more surely than the faith and fervor of the Christian, in that long war. And so, generally throughout Europe, Protestantism, in its conflict with the powers of the ancient church, had descended, ere the sixteenth century ran far into its second half, to a distinctly lower plane than it occupied at first. On that lower plane Rome fronted it more formidably, with stronger arms.

2. Broadly stating the fact, it may be said that Protestantism made all its great inroads upon the church of Rome before partisanship came to the rescue of the latter, and closed the open mind with which Luther, and Zwingli, and Farel, and Calvin were listened to at first. It happens always, when new ideas, combative of old ones, whether religious or political, are first put forward in the world, they are listened to for a time with a certain disinterestedness of attention—a certain native candor in the mind—which gives them a fair hearing. If they seem

Growth of
mercenary
and political
aims in the
Reformation
movement

Excitement
of the
partisan
spirit

reasonable, they obtain ready acceptance, and spread rapidly,—until the conservatism of the beliefs assailed takes serious alarm, and the radicalism of the innovating beliefs becomes ambitious and rampant; until the for and the against stiffen themselves in opposing ranks, and the voice of argument is drowned by the cries of party. That ends all shifting of masses from the old to the new ground. That ends conversion as an epidemic and dwindles it to the sporadic character.

Protestant
dissensions

3. Protestantism became divided within itself at an early stage of its career by doctrinal differences, first between Zwinglians and Lutherans, and then between Lutherans and Calvinists; while Catholicism, under attack, settled into more unity and solidity than before.

Purification
of the
papacy

4. The papacy was restored at this time to the purer and higher character of its best ages, by well-guided elections, which raised in succession to the throne a number of men, very different in ability, and quite different, too, in the spirit of their piety, but generally alike in dignity and decency of life, and in qualities which command respect. The fiery Neapolitan zealot, Caraffa, who became pope in 1555 as Paul IV.; his cool-tempered diplomatic successor, Pius IV., who manipulated the closing labors of the Council of Trent; the austere inquisitor, Pius V.; the more commonplace Gregory XIII., and the powerful Sixtus V., were pontiffs who gave new strength to Catholicism, in their different ways, both by what they did and by what they were.

Loyola's
Society of
Jesus

5. The revival of zeal in the Roman church, naturally following the attacks upon it, gave rise to many new religious organizations within its elastic fold, some reformatory, some missionary and militant, but all bringing an effectual reinforcement to it, at the time when its assailants began to show faltering signs. Among these was one—Loyola's Society of Jesus—which marched promptly to the front of the battle, and which contributed more than any other single force in the field to the rallying of the church, to the stopping of retreat, and to the facing of its stubborn columns forward for a fresh advance. The Jesuits took such a lead and accomplished such results by virtue of the military precision of discipline under which

they had been placed and to which they were singularly trained by the rules of the founder; and also by effect of a certain subtle sophistry that runs through their maxims and counsels.

They fought for their faith with a sublime courage, with a devotion almost unparalleled, with an earnestness of belief that cannot be questioned; but they used weapons and modes of warfare which the higher moral feeling of civilized mankind, whether Christian or pagan, has condemned. It is not Protestant enemies alone who say this. It is the accusation that has been brought against them again and again in their own church, and which has expelled them from Catholic countries, again and again. In the first century or more of their career, this plastic conscience, moulded by a passionate zeal, and surrendered, with every gift of mind and body, to a service of obedience which tolerated no evasion on one side nor bending on the other, made the Jesuits the most invincible body of men that was ever organized for defense and aggression in any cause.

The Jesuit
spirit

The order was founded in 1540, by a bull of Pope Paul III. At the time of Loyola's death, in 1556, it numbered about one thousand members, and under Lainez, the second general of the order, who succeeded Loyola at the head, it advanced rapidly, in numbers, in efficiency of organization, and in widespread influence.

The
founding of
the order,
1540

6. The tremendous power in Europe to which the Spanish monarchy, with its subject dominions, and its dynastic relations, had now risen, passed, in 1556, to a dull-brained bigot, who saw but one use for it, namely, the extinction of all dissent from his own beliefs, and all opposition to his own will. Philip II. differed from his father, Charles V., not in the enormity of his bigoted egotism, but in its exclusiveness. There was something else in Charles, something sometimes faintly admirable. But his vampire of a son had nothing in him that was not as deadly to mankind as the venom secreted behind the fang of a cobra.

Philip II.
of Spain,
1556-1598

It was a frightful day for the world when a despotism which shadowed Spain, Sicily, Italy and the Low Countries, and which had begun to draw unbounded treasure

The
malevolent
power of
Philip II.

from America, fell to the possession of such a being as this. Nothing substantial was taken away from the potent malevolence of Philip by his failure of election in Germany to the imperial throne. On the contrary, he was the stronger for it, because all his dominion was real and all his authority might assume to be absolute. His father had been more handicapped than helped by his German responsibilities and embarrassments, which Philip escaped. It is not strange that his concentration of the vast enginery under his hands to one limited aim, of exterminating what his dull mind conceived to be irreligion and treason, had its large measure of success. The stranger thing is, that there were fortitude and courage to resist such power, in even one corner of his realm.

Briefly stated, these are the incidents and circumstances which help to explain—not fully, perhaps, but almost sufficiently—the check to Protestantism and the restored energy and aggressiveness of the Catholic church, in the later half of the sixteenth century.

The Ruin of Spain

The
destroyed
opportunity
of Spain

In his kingdom of Spain, Philip II. may be said to have finished the work of death which his father and his father's grandparents committed to him. They began it, and appointed the lines on which it was to be done. The Spain of their day had the fairest opportunity of any nation in Europe for a great and noble career. The golden gates of its opportunity were unlocked and opened by good Queen Isabella; but the same pious queen, by consenting to the institution of the Inquisition, did, likewise, unknowingly, pronounce a doom upon the unfortunate country which her descendants took care to fulfill.

Destruction
of industrial
life

Of political life, Charles V. really left nothing for his son to kill. Of free religious life, there can have been no important survival, for he and his Inquisition had been vigilant; but Philip made much of the little he could find. As to the industrial life of Spain, father and son were equally active and equally ingenious in destroying it. They paralyzed manufactures, in the first instance, by persecuting and expelling the thrifty and skillful Moriscos; then they made their work complete by heavy

duties on raw materials. To extinguish the agricultural industries of the kingdom, they had happy inspirations. They prohibited the exportation of one commodity after another—corn, cattle, wool, cloth, leather, and the like—until they had brought Spain practically to the point of being dependent on other countries for many products of skill, and yet of having nothing to offer in exchange, except the treasure of precious metals which she drew from America. Hence it happened that the silver and gold of the Peruvian and Mexican mines ran like quicksand through her fingers, into the coffers of the merchants of the Low Countries and of England; and, probably, no other country in Europe saw so little of them, had so little of benefit from them, as the country they were supposed to enrich.

How the gold and silver from America ran through Spanish fingers

If the ruin of Spain needed to be made complete by anything more, Philip's taxation supplied the need. Spending vast sums in his attempt to repeat upon the Netherlands the work of national murder he had accomplished in Spain; losing, by the same act, the rich revenues of the thrifty provinces; launching into new expenditures as he pursued, by clumsy warfare, his mission of death into fresh fields, aiming now at the life of France, and now at the life of England,—he squeezed the cost of his armies and armadas from a country in which he had strangled production already, and made poverty the common estate. It was the last draining of the life-blood of a nation which ought to have been strong and great, but which suffered murder most foul and unnatural. We hardly exaggerate even in figure when we say that Spain was a dying nation when Philip quitted the scene of his arduous labors.

The crushing burden of Philip's taxation

Philip II. and the Netherlands

The hand of Charles V. had been heavy on the Netherlands; but there was hardly a dream of resistance to such a power as that of Spain in his day. It was not easy for Philip to outdo his father's despotism; less easy to drive the laborious Hollanders and Flemings to desperation and force them into rebellious war. But he accomplished both. He filled the country with Spanish troops. He reorganized and stimulated the Inquisition. He multiplied

Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic, and History of the United Netherlands*

Despotic measures

bishoprics in the provinces, against the wish of even the Catholic population. He scorned the counsels of the great nobles, and gave foreign advisers to the regent, his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, illegitimate daughter of Charles V., whom he placed at the head of the government. His oppressions were endured, with increasing signs of hidden passion, for ten years. Then, in 1566, the first movement of patriotic combination appeared. It was a league among certain of the nobles; its objects were peaceful, its plans were legal; but it was not countenanced by the wiser of the patriots, who saw that events were not ripe. The members of the league went in solemn procession to the regent with a petition; whereupon one of her councilors denounced them as "a troop of beggars." They seized and appropriated the epithet. A beggar's wallet became their emblem; the idea was caught up and carried through the country, and a visible party rose up.

First movement of patriotic combination, 1566

The league of "The Beggars"

The religious feeling now gained boldness. Enormous field-meetings began to be held, under arms, in every part of the open country, defying edicts and Inquisition. There followed a little later some fanatical and riotous outbreaks in several cities, breaking images and desecrating churches. Upon these occurrences, Philip dispatched to the Netherlands, in the summer of 1567, a fresh army of Spanish troops, commanded by the duke of Alva, a man of Philip's own kind,—as mean, as false, as merciless, as little in soul and mind, as himself. Alva brought with him authority which superseded that of the regent, and secret instructions which doomed every man of worth and weight in the provinces.

Religious rioting

The coming of the duke of Alva, 1567

At the head of the nobility of the country, by eminence of character, no less than by precedence in rank, stood William of Nassau, prince of Orange, who derived his higher title from a petty and remote principality (in France), but whose large family possessions were in Luxemburg, Holland, Flanders and Brabant. Associated with him, in friendship and in political action, were Count Egmont, and the admiral Count Horn, the latter of a family related to the Montmorencies of France. These three conspicuous nobles Philip had marked with special malice for the headsman, though their solitary crime had

William the Silent, prince of Orange

been the giving of advice against his tyrannies. William of Orange,—“the Silent,” as he came to be known,—far-seeing in his wisdom, and well-advised by trusty agents in Spain, withdrew into Germany before Alva arrived. He warned his friends of their danger and implored them to save themselves; but they were blinded and would not listen. The perfidious Spaniard lured them with flatteries to Brussels and thrust them into prison. They were to be the first victims of the appalling sacrifice required to appease the dull rage of the king. Within three months they had eighteen hundred companions, condemned like themselves to the scaffold, by a council in which Alva presided and which the people called “the Council of Blood.” In June, 1568, they were brought to the block.

Perfidious
destruction
of Count
Egmont and
Count Horn,
1568

The Council
of Blood

Meantime, Prince William and his brother, Louis of Nassau, had raised forces in Germany and attempted the rescue of the terrorized provinces; but their troops were ill-paid and mutinous and they suffered defeat. For the time being, the Netherlands were crushed. As many of the people as could escape had fled; commerce was at a standstill; workshops were idle; the cities, once so wealthy, were impoverished; death, mourning, and terror, were everywhere. Alva had done very perfectly what he was sent to do.

The
provinces
terrorized

The first break in the blackness of the clouds appeared in April, 1572, when a fleet, manned by refugee adventurers who called themselves “Sea-Beggars,” attacked and captured the town of Brill. From that day the revolt had its right footing, on the decks of the ships of the best sailors in the world. It faced Philip from that day as a maritime power, which would grow by the very feeding of its war with him, until it had consumed everything Spanish within its reach. The taking of Brill soon gave the patriots control of so many places in Holland and Zealand that a meeting of deputies was held at Dort, in July, 1572, which declared William of Orange to be “the king’s legal stadtholder in Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Utrecht,” and recommended to the other provinces that he be appointed protector of all the Netherlands during the absence of the king.

Exploit of
the “Sea-
Beggars,”
1572

The revolt
on its right
footing

William of
Orange
declared
stadtholder

Alva’s reign of terror had failed so signally that even

Retirement
of Alva

Siege of
Leyden,
1573

Flanders
and Brabant

Alexander
Farnese

Rise of
the Dutch
Republic,
1579-1581

he was discouraged and asked to be recalled. It was his boast when he retired that he had put eighteen thousand and six hundred of the Netherlanders to death since they were delivered into his hands, above and beyond the horrible massacres by which he had half depopulated every captured town. Under Alva's successor, Don Louis de Requesens, a man of more justice and humanity, the struggle went on, adversely, upon the whole, to the patriots, though they triumphed at Leyden in a famous defense of the town. To win help from England, they offered the sovereignty of their country to Queen Elizabeth; but in vain. They made no headway in the southern provinces, where Catholicism prevailed, and where the religious difference drew people more to the Spanish side. But when Requesens died suddenly, in the spring of 1576, and the Spanish soldiery broke into a furious mutiny, sacking Antwerp and other cities, then the nobles of Flanders and Brabant applied to the northern provinces for help. The result was a treaty, called the Pacification of Ghent, which contemplated a general effort to drive the Spaniards from the whole land. But not much came of this confederacy; the Catholic provinces never coöperated with the Protestant provinces, and the latter went their own way to freedom and prosperity, while the former sank back, submissive, to their chains.

For a short time after the death of Requesens, Philip was represented in the Netherlands by his illegitimate half-brother, Don John of Austria; but Don John died in October, 1578, and then came the great general, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, who was to try the patriots sorely by his military skill. In 1579, the prince of Orange drew them more closely together, in the Union of Utrecht, which Holland, Zealand, Gelderland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen subscribed, and which was practically the foundation of the Dutch republic, though allegiance to Philip was not yet renounced. This followed two years later, in July, 1581, when the states-general, assembled at The Hague, passed a solemn act of abjuration, which deposed Philip from his sovereignty and transferred it to the duke of Anjou, a prince of the royal family of France, who did nothing for the provinces, and who

died soon after. At the same time, the immediate sovereignty of Holland and Zealand was conferred on the prince of Orange.

In March, 1582, Philip made his first deliberate attempt to procure the assassination of the prince. He had entered into a contract for the purpose, and signed it with his own hand. The assassin employed failed only because the savage pistol-wound he inflicted, in the neck and jaw of his victim, did not kill. The master-murderer, at Madrid, undiscouraged, launched his assassins, one following the other, until six had made their trial in two years. The sixth, one Balthazar Gérard, accomplished that for which he was sent, and William the Silent, wise statesman and admirable patriot, fell under his hand. Philip was so immeasurably delighted at this success that he conferred three lordships on the parents of the murderer.

Assassination of William the Silent, July 10, 1584

William's son, Maurice, though but eighteen years old, was chosen stadtholder of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, and high admiral of the Union. In the subsequent years of the war, he proved himself a general of great capacity. Of the details of the war it is impossible to speak. Its most notable event was the siege of Antwerp, whose citizens defended themselves against the duke of Parma, with astonishing courage and obstinacy, for many months. They capitulated in the end on honorable terms; but the prosperity of their city had received a blow from which it never revived.

Maurice of Orange and Nassau

Siege of Antwerp, 1584-1585

Once more the sovereignty of the provinces was offered to Queen Elizabeth of England, and once more declined; but the queen sent her favorite, the earl of Leicester, with a few thousand men, to help the struggling Hollanders. This was done, not in sympathy with them or their cause, but purely as a self-defensive measure against Spain. The niggardliness and the vacillations of Elizabeth, combined with the incompetency of Leicester, caused troubles to the provinces nearly equal to the benefit of the forces lent. Philip of Spain was now involved in undertakings against the Huguenots in France, and in his plans against England, and was weakened in the Netherlands for some years. Parma died in 1592, and Count Mansfield took his place, succeeded in his turn by the marquis Spinola.

The earl of Leicester in the Netherlands, 1585-1587

End of the
Dutch War of
Independence,
1607

The latter, at last, made an honest report, that the subjugation of the United Provinces was impracticable, and, Philip II. being dead, the Spanish government was induced, in 1607, to agree to a suspension of arms. A truce for twelve years was arranged; practically it was the termination of the war of independence, and practically it placed the United Provinces among the nations, although a generation passed before the formal acknowledgment of their independence by Spain.

The Dutch and English in the eastern seas

Expulsion
of the
Portuguese
from the
east

The Dutch had not only been able to thrive generally in the midst of their desperate war with Spain, but the war itself had opened their way to wealth and power. They learned early that they could attack their enemy to the best advantage at sea. In pursuing the ocean warfare they were led on to the East Indies, and soon broke the hold of the Portuguese on possessions and trade in that field. Portugal, dragged into a union with Spain, under Philip II., had to suffer more than her share of the consequences of Philip's wars. The Dutch and the English forced their way, pretty nearly together, into the eastern seas, and, between them, the Portuguese were mostly driven out. They divided the rich commerce of that great Oceanic and Asiatic region, and, for a time, the most lucrative part of it was gained by the Dutch.

Dutch
control
of the
spice-islands

While the English got their footing on the coasts of Hindostan, which they did in the first years of the seventeenth century, and were laying the foundations of their future empire in India, the Dutch won control of the spice-growing islands, which, in that day, were the richer commercial prize. The first Dutch fleet that rounded the Cape of Good Hope and made its way into East Indian waters, in 1595, lost two of its four ships and more than half of its men, and returned with little cargo to repay the loss. But the next venture, in 1598, had delightful success, and very soon the armed merchantmen of the Dutch were swarming thickly in that part of the world, ready for fight or for traffic, as the case might be. So many companies of merchants became engaged in the business that they ruined each other by their competition,

and this led to their union, in the Dutch East India Company, formed and chartered in 1602, with exclusive rights of trade in the east. By its charter, this great company held powers of war as well as trade, and was energetic in the use of both. Bantam, in Java, and Amboyna, one of the Moluccas or Spice Islands, were the early chief trading stations of the Dutch in the east, but Batavia, in Java, founded in 1619, became afterward their principal seat of colonial government and trade.

The Dutch
East India
Company,
1602

The Religious wars in France

King Henry II., of France, dying in 1559, left three sons, all weaklings in body and character, who reigned in succession to each other. The elder, Francis II., died the year following his accession. Though aged but seventeen when he died, he had been married some two years to Mary Stuart, the young queen of Scots. This marriage had helped to raise to great power in the kingdom a family known as the Guises. They were a branch of the ducal house of Lorraine, whose duchy was at that time independent of France, and, though the father of the family, made duke of Guise by Francis I., had become naturalized in France in 1505, his sons were looked upon as foreigners by the jealous Frenchmen whom they supplanted at court. Of the six sons, there were two of eminence, one (the second duke of Guise) a famous general in his day, the other a powerful cardinal. Five sisters completed the family in its second generation. The elder of these, Mary, had married James V. of Scotland (whose mother was the English princess, Margaret, sister of Henry VIII.), and Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, born of that marriage, was therefore a niece of the Guises. They had brought about her marriage to Francis II., while he was dauphin, and they mounted with her to supreme influence in the kingdom when she rose with her husband to the throne.

Ranke,
*Civil
Wars and
Monarchy
in France*

Francis II.
and Mary
Stuart,
queen of
Scots

The Guises

The duke
and the
cardinal

The queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, was as eager as the Guises to control the government; but during the short reign of Francis II. she was quite thrust aside, and the queen's uncles ruled the state. The death of Francis II. brought a change, and, with the accession of Charles

Charles IX.
1560-1574

IX., a boy of ten years, there began a bitter contest for ascendancy between Catherine and the Guises. This struggle became mixed and strangely complicated with a deadly conflict of religions, which the steady advance of the Reformation in France had brought to a crisis at this time.

The party
of the
reformed
religion in
France

Under the powerful leadership which Calvin assumed, the reformed religion in France had acquired an organized firmness and strength that not only resisted the most cruel persecution, but made rapid headway against it. "Protestantism had become a party which did not, like Lutheranism in Germany, spring up from the depths." "It numbered its chief adherents among the middle and upper grades of society, spread its roots rather among the nobles than the citizens, and among learned men and families of distinction rather than among the people." "Some of the highest aristocracy, who were discontented, and submitted unwillingly to the supremacy of the Guises, had joined the Calvinistic opposition—some undoubtedly from policy, others from conviction. The Turennes, the Rohans, and Soubises, pure nobles, who addressed the king as 'mon cousin,' especially the Bourbons, the agnates of the royal house, had adopted the new faith."

Häusser,
*Period of
the Reforma-
tion*, 353

The
Bourbons
of Navarre

One branch of the Bourbons had lately acquired the crown of Navarre. The Spanish part of the old Navarrese kingdom had been subjugated and absorbed by Ferdinand of Aragon; but its territory on the French side of the Pyrenees—Béarn and other counties—still maintained a half independent national existence, with the dignity of a regal government. When Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I., married Henry d'Albret, king of Navarre, she carried to that small court an earnest inclination towards the doctrines of the Reform. Under her protection, Navarre became largely Protestant, and a place of refuge for the persecuted of France. Margaret's daughter, the famous Jeanne d'Albret, espoused the reformed faith fully, and her husband, Antoine de Bourbon, as well as Antoine's brother, Louis de Condé, found it politic to profess the same belief.

Jeanne
d'Albret

The
Protestants
called
Huguenots

The Protestants (now acquiring, in some unknown way, the name of Huguenots) had become so numerous

and so compactly organized as to form a party capable of being wielded with great effect, in the strife of court factions which the rivalry of Catherine and the Guises produced. Hence politics and religion were confused inextricably in the civil wars that broke out shortly after the death of Francis II., and the accession of the boy king, Charles IX.

Politics and religion confused

Wherever the stealthy arm of the influence of Philip II. of Spain could reach, there the Catholic reaction of his time took on a malignant form. In France, it is quite probable that the Catholics and the Huguenots, if left to themselves, would have come to blows; but it is certain that the meddling influence of the Spanish king put fierceness and fury into the wars of religion, which raged from 1562 to 1596, and that they were prolonged by his encouragement and help.

Meddling influence of Philip II.

Catherine de' Medici, to strengthen herself against the Guises, after the death of Francis II., offered attentions for a time to the Huguenot nobles, and encouraged them to expect a large and lasting measure of toleration. She went so far that the Huguenot influence at court, surrounding the young king, became seriously alarming to Catholic onlookers, both at home and abroad. Among the many remonstrances addressed to the queen-regent, one came from Philip, which appears to have been decisive in its effect. He coldly sent her word that he intended to interfere in France and to establish the supremacy of the Catholic church; that he should give his support for that purpose to any true friend of the church who might request it.

Catherine de' Medici, the Guises and the Huguenots

Philip's message

Whether Catherine had entertained an honest purpose or not, in her dealing with the Huguenots, this threat, with what lay behind it, put an end to the hope of toleration. It is true that an assembly of notables, in January, 1562, did propose a law which the queen put forth, in what is known as the "Edict of January," whereby the Huguenots were given, for the first time, a legal recognition, ceasing to be outlaws, and were permitted to hold meetings, in the daytime, in open places, outside of walled cities; but their churches were taken away from them, they were forbidden to build more, and they could hold no

The "Edict of January," 1562

meetings in walled towns. It was a measure of toleration very different from that which they had been led to expect; and even the little meted out by this edict of January was soon shown to have no guarantee. Within three months, the duke of Guise had found an opportunity for exhibiting his contempt of the new law, by ordering his armed followers to attack a congregation at Vassy, killing fifty and wounding two hundred of the peaceful worshippers. This drove the Huguenots to arms, and the civil wars began.

The frivolous Anthony, king of Navarre, had been won back to the Catholic side. His wife, Jeanne d'Albret, with her young son, the future Henry IV., and Anthony's brother, Louis, prince of Condé, remained true to their faith. Condé was the chief of the party. Next to him in rank, and first in real worth and weight, was the noble admiral Coligny. The first war was brief, though long enough to end the careers of Anthony of Navarre, killed in battle, and the duke of Guise, murdered by a fanatical Huguenot soldier. Peace was made in 1563 through a compromise, which conceded certain places to the Huguenots, wherein they might worship God in their own way. But it was a hollow peace, and picked at unceasingly by the malicious finger of the great master of assassins at Madrid. In 1566, civil war broke out a second time, continuing until 1570. Its principal battles were that of Jarnac, in which Condé was taken prisoner and basely slain by his captors, and that of Moncontour. The Huguenots were defeated in both. After the death of Condé, young Henry of Navarre, who had reached his fifteenth year, was chosen to be the chief of the party, with Coligny for his instructor in war.

Again peace was made, on a basis of slight concessions. Henry of Navarre married the king's sister, Margaret of Valois; prior to which marriage he and his mother took up their residence with the court, at Paris, where Jeanne d'Albret soon sickened and died. The admiral Coligny acquired, apparently, a marked influence over the mind of the young king; and once more there seemed to be a smiling future for the Reformed. But underneath this fair showing there were treacheries concealed. The most

Beginning of
the civil
wars

Hanna,
*The Wars
of the
Huguenots*

The prince
of Condé
and admiral
Coligny

Besant,
*Gaspard de
Coligny*

Henry of
Navarre

Marriage of
Henry to
the king's
sister

hideous conspiracy of modern times was being planned, at the very moment of the ostentatious peace-marriage of the king of Navarre, and the chief parties to it were Catherine de' Medici and the Guises, whose evil inclinations in common had brought them together at last.

On the 22d of August, 1572, Coligny was wounded by an assassin, employed by the widow and son of the late duke of Guise, whose death they charged against him, notwithstanding his protestations of innocence. Two days later, the monstrous and almost incredible massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day was begun. Paris was full of Huguenots—the heads of the party—its men of weight and influence—who had been drawn to the capital by the king of Navarre's marriage and by the supposed new era of favor in which they stood. To cut these off was the purpose of the infernal scheme. The weak-minded young king was not an original party to the plot. When everything had been planned, he was excited by a tale of Huguenot conspiracies, and his assent to summary measures of prevention was secured.

Massacre
of St.
Bartholo-
mew's Day,
Aug. 24, 1572

Sully,
Memoirs,
bk. i

A little after midnight, on the morning of Sunday, August 24, the signal was given, by Catherine's order, which let loose a waiting swarm of assassins, throughout Paris, on the victims who had been marked. The Huguenots had had no warning; they were taken everywhere by surprise, and they were murdered in their beds, or hunted down in their hopeless flight. Coligny, prostrated by the wound he had received two days before, was killed in his chamber, and his body flung out of the window. The young duke of Guise stood waiting in the court below, it is said, to gloat on the corpse and to spurn it with his foot.

The
massacre in
Paris

The massacre in Paris was carried on through two nights and two days; and, for more than a month following, the example of the capital was imitated in other cities of France, as the news of what were called "the Paris Matins" was spread. The total number of victims in the kingdom is estimated variously to have been between twenty thousand and one hundred thousand.

In other
cities

Henry of Navarre and the young prince of Condé

escaped the massacre, but they saved their lives by an abjuration of their religion.

La Rochelle The strongest town in the possession of the Huguenots was La Rochelle, and great numbers of their ministers and people of mark who survived the massacre now took refuge in that city, with a considerable body of armed men. The royal forces laid siege to the city, without success. Peace was conceded in the end on terms which again promised the Huguenots some liberty of worship; but there was no sincerity in the pledge.

Henry III., 1574-1589 In 1574, Charles IX. died, and his brother Hénry, the duke of Anjou, who had lately been elected king of Poland, ran away from his Polish capital with disgraceful secrecy and haste, to secure the French crown. He was the most worthless of the Valois-Medicean brood, and the French court attained its lowest depth of degradation in his reign. The contending religions were soon at war again, with the accustomed result, in 1576, of another short-lived peace. The Catholics were divided into two factions, one fanatical, following the Guises, the other composed of moderate men, calling themselves the Politiques, who hated the Spanish influence under which the Guises acted, and who were willing to make terms with the Huguenots. The Guises and the ultra-Catholics now organized throughout France a great oath-bound "holy league," which became so formidable in power that the king took fright, put himself at the head of it, and reopened war with the Reformed.

The "politiques" and the "holy league"

More and more, the conflict of religions became confused with questions of politics and mixed with personal quarrels. At one time, the king's younger brother, the duke of Alençon, had gone over to the Huguenot side; but stayed only long enough to extort from the court some appointments which he desired. The king, more despised by his subjects than any king of France before him had ever been, grew increasingly jealous and afraid of the popularity and strength of the duke of Guise. Guise, on his side, was made arrogant by his sense of power, and his ambition soared high. There were reasons for believing that he did not look upon the throne itself as beyond his reach.

Daring ambition of Guise

After 1584, when the duke of Alençon (duke of Anjou under his later title) died, a new political question, vastly disturbing, was brought into affairs. That death left no heir to the crown in the Valois line, and the king of Navarre, of the house of Bourbon, was now the nearest in birth to the throne. Henry had, long before this, retracted his abjuration of 1572, had rejoined the Huguenots and taken his place as their chief. The head of the Huguenots was now the heir presumptive to the crown, and the wretched, incapable king was impelled by his fear of Guise to look to his Huguenot heir for support. It was a strange situation. In 1588 it underwent a sinister change. Guise and his brother, the cardinal, were both assassinated by the king's body-guard, acting under the king's orders, in the royal residence at the castle of Blois. When the murder had been done, the cowardly king spurned his dead enemy with his foot, as Guise, sixteen years before, had spurned the murdered Coligny, and said: "I am king at last." He was mistaken. His authority vanished with the vile deed. Paris broke into open rebellion. The league renewed its activity throughout France. The king, abandoned and cursed on all sides, had now no course open to him but an alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. The alliance was effected, and the two Henrys joined forces to subdue insurgent Paris. While the siege of the city was in progress, Henry III. fell a victim, in his turn, to the murderous mania of his depraved age and court. He was assassinated by a fanatical monk.

Henry of Navarre now steps into the foreground of French history, as Henry IV., lawful king of France as well as of Navarre, and ready to prove his royal title by a more useful reign than the French nation had known since it buried Saint Louis, his last ancestor on the throne. But his title was recognized at first by few outside the party of the Huguenots. The league went openly into alliance with Philip of Spain, who even half-stopped his war in the Netherlands to send money and troops into France. The energies of his soul were all concentrated on the desire to keep the heretical Béarnese from the throne of France. Happily his powers were equal no

Henry of
Navarre,
heir
presumptive
to the
crown

Assassina-
tion of the
Guises, 1589

Assassina-
tion of
Henry III.
1589

Henry of
Navarre,
king of
France,
1589-1610

Sully,
Memoirs,
bks. 3-28

longer to his malignity; he was staggering under the blow which destroyed his great armada.

Battle of
Ivry, March
14, 1590

Protestant-
ism
renounced
by Henry,
1593

The Edict
of Nantes,
1598

France
under Henry
IV.

Assassina-
tion of
Henry IV.,
1610

Henry received some help in money from Queen Elizabeth, and 5,000 English and Scotch came over to join his army. He was an abler general than any among his opponents, and he made headway against them. His victory at Ivry inspirited his followers and took heart from the league. He was driven from his subsequent siege of Paris by a Spanish army, under the duke of Parma; but the very interference of the Spanish king helped to turn French feeling in Henry's favor. On the 25th of July, 1593, he extinguished most of the opposition to himself by his final submission to the church of Rome. It was an easy thing for him to do. His religion sat lightly on him. He had accepted it from his mother; he had adhered to it—not faithfully—as the creed of a party. He could give it up, with no trouble of conscience, in exchange for the crown of France. But the Reformed religion in France was benefited, in fact, by his apostasy. Peace came to the kingdom, as the consequence,—a peace of many years,—and the Huguenots were sheltered in considerable religious freedom by the peace. Henry secured it to them in 1598 by the famous Edict of Nantes, which remained in force for nearly a hundred years.

The reign of Henry IV. was one of the satisfactory periods in the life of France, so far as concerns the material prosperity of the nation. He was a man of strong, keen intellect, with firmness of will and elasticity of temper, but weak on the moral side. He was of those who win admiration and friendship easily, and he remains traditionally the most popular of French kings. He had the genius for government which so rarely coincides with royal birth. A wise minister, the duke of Sully, gave stability to his measures, and between them they succeeded in improving and promoting the agricultural and the manufacturing industries of France to a remarkable extent, effacing the destructive effects of the long civil wars, and bringing economy and order into the finances of the overburdened nation. The useful career of Henry was ended by an assassin in 1610.

Events in Germany

The reactionary wars of religion in Germany came half a century later than in France. While the latter country was torn by the long civil conflicts which Henry IV. brought to an end, the former was as nearly in the enjoyment of religious peace as the miserable contentions in the bosom of Protestantism, between Lutherans and Calvinists (the latter more commonly called "the Reformed"), would permit. On the abdication of Charles V., in 1556, he had fortunately failed to bring about the election of his son Philip to the imperial throne. His brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia and Hungary, was chosen emperor, and that sovereign had too many troubles in his immediate dominions to be willing to invite a collision with the Protestant princes of Germany at large. The Turks had overrun Hungary and established themselves in possession of considerable parts of the country. Ferdinand obtained peace with the redoubtable sultan Suleiman, but only by payments of money which bore a strong likeness to tribute. He succeeded, by his prudent and skillful policy, in making both the Hungarian and the Bohemian crowns practically hereditary in the Austrian family.

A period of
religious
peace

Emperor
Ferdinand
I., 1556-1564

Dying in 1564, Ferdinand transmitted both those kingdoms, with the Austrian archduchy and the imperial office, to his son, Maximilian II., the broadest and most liberal minded of his race. Though educated in Spain, and in companionship with his cousin, Philip II., Maximilian exhibited the most tolerant spirit that appears anywhere in his age. Perhaps it was the hatefulness of orthodox zeal as exemplified in Philip which drove the more generous nature of Maximilian to revolt. He adhered to the Roman communion; but he manifested so much respect for the doctrines of the Lutheran that his father felt called upon at one time to make apologies for him to the pope. Throughout his reign he held himself aloof from religious disputes, setting an example of tolerance and spiritual intelligence to all his subjects, Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics alike, which ought to have influenced them more for their good than it did.

Emperor
Maximilian
II.,
1564-1576

Coxe,
*History of
the House of
Austria*, ch.
xxxvi-xxxix

Tolerant
spirit of the
emperor

Under the shelter of the toleration which Maximilian

Protestant-
ism in the
Austrian
dominions

Emperor
Rudolph
II.,
1576-1612

The
Bohemian
"letter of
majesty,"
1609

Religious
antagonisms
revived

Preludes to
the Thirty
Years War

gave it, Protestantism spread over Austria, where it had had no opportunity before; revived the old Hussite reform in Bohemia; made great gains in Hungary, and advanced in all parts of his dominions except the Tyrol. The time permitted to it for this progress was short, since Maximilian reigned but twelve years. He died in 1576, and his son Rudolph, who followed him, brought evil changes upon the country in all things. He, too, had been educated in Spain, but with a very different result. Authority of government went to pieces in his incompetent hands, and at last, in 1606, a family conclave of princes of the Austrian house began measures which aimed at dispossessing Rudolph of his various sovereignties, so far as possible, in favor of his brother Matthias. Rudolph resisted with some effect, and, in the contests which ensued, the Protestants of Austria and Bohemia improved their opportunity for securing an enlargement of their rights. Matthias made the concession of complete toleration in Austria, while Rudolph, in Bohemia, granted a celebrated charter, called "the letter of majesty," which gave religious liberty to all sects.

These concessions were offensive to two princes, the archduke Ferdinand of Styria, and Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, who had taken the lead already in a vigorous movement of Catholic reaction. Some proceedings on the part of Maximilian, which the emperor sanctioned, against the Protestant free city of Donauwörth, had caused certain Protestant princes and cities, in 1608, to form a defensive union. But the elector palatine, who attached himself to the Reformed or Calvinist church, was at the head of this union, and the bigoted Lutherans, especially the elector of Saxony, looked coldly upon it. On the other hand, the Catholic states formed a counter-organization—a "holy league"—which was more compact.

The two parties being thus in array, there arose suddenly between them a political question of the most disturbing kind. It related to the right of succession to an important duchy, that of Juliers, Clèves, and Berg. There were several powerful claimants, and, as usual, the political question took possession of the religious issue and used it for its own ends. The Protestant union opened negotia-

tions with Henry IV. of France, who saw an opportunity to weaken the house of Austria and to make some gains for France. A treaty was concluded, and Henry began active preparations for campaigns in both Germany and Italy, with serious intent to humble and diminish the Austrian power. The Dutch came into the alliance, and there were promises of English aid. The combination was formidable, and might have changed the course of events that awaited unhappy Germany, if the whole plan had not been frustrated by the assassination of Henry IV., in 1610. All the parties to the alliance drew back after that event.

Protestant
alliance with
Henry IV.

In 1611, Rudolph was deposed in Bohemia, and in the following year he died. Matthias, already king of Hungary, succeeded Rudolph in Bohemia and in the empire. But Matthias was scarcely stronger in mind or body than his brother, and the same family pressure which had pushed Rudolph aside now forced Matthias to accept a coadjutor, in the person of the vigorous Ferdinand, archduke of Styria. For the remainder of his reign Matthias was a cipher, and all power in the government was exercised by Ferdinand. His bitter opposition to the tolerant policy which had prevailed for half a century was well understood. Hence, his rise to supremacy in the empire gave notice that the days of religious peace were ended. The outbreak of civil war was not long in coming.

Emperor
Matthias,
1612-1619

Ferdinand
of Styria

England under Queen Elizabeth

Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Boleyn, who came to the English throne in 1558, was Protestant by the necessities of her position, whether doctrinally convinced or no. The Catholics denied her legitimacy of birth, and disputed, therefore, her right to the crown. She depended upon the Protestants for her support, and Protestantism, either active or passive, had become, without doubt, the dominant faith of the nation. But the mild schism which took most of its direction from Luther, at first, had come now under the Calvinistic influence, with marked effects. Geneva had been the refuge of many ministers and teachers who fled from Mary's fires, and they returned to spread and deepen in England the stern, strong,

Creighton,
*Age of
Elizabeth*

Calvinistic
Protestant-
ism

Evolution
of the
Puritans

formidable piety which Calvin evoked. These Calvinistic Protestants made themselves felt as a party in the state, and were known ere long by that name which the next century rendered famous in English and American history—the great name of the Puritans. They were not satisfied with the stately, decorous, ceremonious church which Elizabeth reconstructed on the pattern of the church of Edward VI. At the same time, no party could be counted on more surely for the support of the queen, since the hope of Protestantism in England depended upon her, even as she was dependent upon it.

Claims of
Mary Stuart
to the
English
crown

The Catholics, denying legitimacy to Elizabeth, recognized Mary, queen of Scots, as the lawful sovereign of England. And Mary was, in fact, the next in succession, tracing her lineage, as stated before, to the elder sister of Henry VIII. If Elizabeth had been willing to acknowledge Mary's heirship, failing heirs of her own body, it seems probable that the partisans of the Scottish queen would have been quieted, to a great extent. But Mary had angered her by assuming, while in France, the arms and style of queen of England. She distrusted and disliked her Stuart cousin, and, moreover, the whole idea of a settlement of the succession was repugnant to her mind. At the same time, she could not be brought to marry, as her Protestant subjects wished. She coquetted with the notion of marriage through half her reign, but never to any result.

Elizabeth
and her
subjects

Such were the elements of agitation and trouble in England under Elizabeth. The history of well-nigh half a century was shaped in almost all its events by the threatening attitude of Catholicism and its supporters, domestic and foreign, toward the English queen. She was supported by the majority of her subjects with stanch loyalty and fidelity, even though she treated them none too well, and troubled them in their very defense of her by her caprices and whims. They identified her cause with themselves, and took such pride in her courage that they shut their eyes to the many weaknesses that went with it.

In 1567, Mary Stuart was deposed by her own subjects, or forced to abdicate in favor of her infant son, James. She had alienated the Scottish people, first by her religion,

and then by her suspected crimes. Having married her second cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, she was accused of being false to him. Darnley revenged his supposed wrongs as a husband by murdering her secretary, David Rizzio. In the next year Darnley was killed; the hand of the earl of Bothwell appeared quite plainly in the crime, and the queen's complicity was believed. She strengthened the suspicions against herself by marrying Bothwell soon afterward. Then her subjects rose against her, imprisoned her in Loch Leven castle, and made the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom. In 1568 Mary escaped from her Scottish prison and entered England. From that time until her death, in 1587, she was a captive in the hands of her rival, Queen Elizabeth, and was treated with slender magnanimity. More than before, she became the focus of intrigues and conspiracies which threatened both the throne and the life of Elizabeth, and a feeling of hostility to the wretched woman had inevitable growth.

Mary Stuart
in Scotland,
1561-1568.

Lang,
*History of
Scotland*,
2: ch. v-viii

Her cap-
tivity in
England,
1568-1587.

Lang,
*History of
Scotland*,
2: ch. viii-xii

In 1570, Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, by a formal bull. This quickened, of course, the activity of the plotters against the queen and set treason astir. Priests from the English Catholic seminary at Douai, afterward at Rheims, began to make their appearance in the country; a few Jesuits came over; and both were active agents of the schemes on foot which contemplated the seating of Mary Stuart on the throne. Some of these emissaries were executed, and they are counted among the martyrs of the Catholic church, which is a mistake. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century was quite capable of religious persecution, even to death; but it seems to have little responsibility of that nature in these Elizabethan cases. As a matter of fact, the religion of the Jesuit sufferers in the reign of Elizabeth was a mere incident attaching itself to a high political crime.

Plots against
Queen
Elizabeth

The plotting went on for twenty years, keeping the nation in unrest; while beyond it there were thickening signs of a great project of invasion in the sinister mind of Philip II. At last, in 1586, the councilors of Elizabeth persuaded her to bring Mary Stuart to trial for alleged

Execution of
Mary Stuart,
Feb. 8, 1587

complicity in a conspiracy of assassination which had lately come to light. Convicted, and condemned to death, Mary ended her sad life on the scaffold, at Fotheringay, on the 8th of February, 1587. Whether guilty or guiltless of any knowledge of what had been done in her name, against the peace of England and against the life of the English queen, it can hardly be thought strange that the English government took her life.

The Spanish
Armada, 1588

A great burst of wrath in Catholic Europe was caused by the execution of Mary, and Philip of Spain hastened forward his vast preparations for the invasion and conquest of England. In 1588, the "invincible armada," as it was believed to be, sailed out of the harbors of Portugal and Spain, and wrecked itself with clumsy imbecility on the British and Irish coasts. It scarcely did more than give sport to the eager English sailors who scattered its helpless ships and hunted them down. Philip troubled England no more, and conspiracy ceased.

The English
at sea

But the undeclared, half-piratical warfare which private adventurers had been carrying on against Spanish commerce for many years now acquired fresh energy, and became the school of the future British navy. The foundations of the British empire were laid down by those who carried it on. We shall speak of it again.

Completed
conquest of
Ireland,
1600-1603

Otherwise, Elizabeth had little war upon her hands, except in Ireland, where the state of disorder and misery had been chronic for some hundreds of years. The first really complete conquest of the island was accomplished by Lord Mountjoy between 1600 and 1603.

The
Elizabethan
age in
English
literature

But neither the political troubles nor the naval and military triumphs of England during the reign of Elizabeth are of much importance, after all, compared with the wonderful flowering of the genius of the nation which took place in that age. Shakespeare, Spenser, Bacon, Ben Jonson, Marlowe, Hooker, Raleigh, Sidney, are the great facts of Elizabeth's time, and it shines with the luster of their names, the period most glorious in English history.

The New World

For about a generation after its discovery, the Spaniards



MAISON DE LA Vierge, BRUXELLES, 1500-1510

and the Portuguese were undisputed possessors of the whole American field. Until after the Reformation movement, and after Spain became involved in wars with the French, Dutch and English, the validity of the papal grant of 1493 was not questioned by any power. England had not followed up the exploring voyages of Cabot, nor was any claim of rights in the New World founded on Cabot's discoveries for many years. French and other fishermen began early to resort to the cod banks of Newfoundland; but it was not until Francis I. and Charles V. were at war that a French exploring expedition was sent officially across the Atlantic, to challenge the exclusive claims of Spain. Verrazano, the Italian commander of that French expedition, is believed to have skirted North America from the Carolinas to Newfoundland, and was assumed to have established claims for France to the extent of his coasting survey. Ten years later, the king of France commissioned another navigator, Jacques Cartier, who entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence, taking possession of it in the king's name, and who, on a second voyage, the next year, found the river and ascended it, as far as the Indian village of Hochelaga, where the city of Montreal arose in after years. In 1541, Cartier came back to the St. Lawrence, under a patent issued to Jean François de la Roque, lord of Roberval, giving authority to colonize and govern the whole undefined region surrounding the river and gulf. After one winter spent in the country by Cartier and another by Roberval, the colonizing undertaking was given up.

Voyage of
Verrazano,
1523-1524

Cartier
on the St.
Lawrence,
1534-1542

The next French attempt at American colonization was made by the Huguenots, with a view to the religious freedom that was sought by English Independents and Puritans at a later time. They were shut out from the Canada region, claimed by France, and trespassed, therefore, in their first venture, on the Portuguese territory of Brazil, attempting a settlement on the bay of Rio de Janeiro, in 1555. Expelled from that place, the Huguenot undertaking was directed by Admiral Coligny, who promoted it, to Port Royal Sound, or Broad River, on the coast of what became the State of South Carolina. The colony planted there, in 1562, was abandoned soon, and a

Ill-fated
Huguenot
colonies,
1555-1565

Parkman,
*Pioneers of
France*,
1-166

third settlement, made on the Florida river of St. John, in 1564, was exterminated in the next year, with unsparing ferocity, by an army sent against it from Spain. This atrocious massacre, unresented by the government of France, was avenged by a private citizen, Dominic de Gourgues, who fitted out and conducted an expedition against the Spanish destroyers of the Huguenot colony, and slew them, every one.

Piratical
warfare
with Spain

Slave-trade
of John
Hawkins

In the course of the war between Francis I. and Charles V., privateering attacks on Spanish-American settlements, and on Spanish treasure-ships coming from America, had been begun by the French. Similar attacks by English adventurers ensued, long before the existence of acknowledged war between England and Spain. This purely piratical warfare grew out of a smuggling slave-trade with the Spanish colonies, opened by John Hawkins, in 1562. The voyages of Hawkins, who captured negroes on the Guinea coast of Africa, or bought them from native slave-catchers, and smuggled them into Spanish-American ports, yielded enormous profits, which many of the highest in England—even Queen Elizabeth, it was said—were more than willing to share. If interfered with by the Spanish authorities, Hawkins fought them, and in the end he was overpowered. From this belligerent smuggling to plain piracy was an easy step, especially in that period of the reign of Elizabeth, during which both religion and politics placed England at enmity with Spain, though not yet at open war. The boldest if not the earliest adventurer in that step to piracy was the renowned Francis Drake.

Sir Francis
Drake,
"first of
English
pirates"

It is an English writer who says: "Shakespeare is not more conspicuously the first of English poets, and Bacon the first of English philosophers, than Drake is the first of English pirates." Elsewhere the same writer says: "Hawkins had confined himself to smuggling; Drake advanced from this to piracy. This practice was authorized by law in the middle ages for the purpose of recovering debts or damages from the subjects of another nation. The English, especially those of the west country, were the most formidable pirates in the world; and the whole nation was by this time roused against Spain, in

consequence of the ruthless war waged against Protestantism in the Netherlands by Philip the Second." The grand exploit of Drake was performed in the years 1577-1580, when he sailed round the American continent, through the Straits of Magellan, to plunder the defenseless Peruvian coasts, where the Spaniards had fancied they were secure against attack. Having taken an immense quantity of treasure from a score of Spanish ships, he sailed up the coast to California, or beyond; then crossed the Pacific, passed through the Eastern Archipelago, traversed the Indian Ocean, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and so returned home, being the next after Magellan to circumnavigate the globe.

Payne,
*Voyages of
Elizabethan
Seamen*,
pages xvi
and 141

It was in this ocean warfare with Spain, piratical at first, but legitimated fully after 1585, when Queen Elizabeth sent open aid to the struggling Netherlands, that English seamanship was highly trained, English enterprise stimulated, and the nation fairly started on its maritime career. For the first time, the slow but resolute English mind had a fairly awakened thought of sharing in the great expansions of trade and empire which geographical discovery had opened up. Projects of direct trade with the east began to take active form. There had been an attempt, in the reign of Queen Mary, to find a north-eastern passage to China, through the Arctic Sea, and the undertaking had resulted in an opening of trade with Russia, and through Russia, overland, with the Asiatic world.

England
started on its
maritime
career

Now there was a beginning of efforts to find a north-western passage to the Pacific Ocean and the Old World in the far east. The magnitude of the great continent that lay between the Atlantic and that broader ocean which Magellan and Drake had crossed was not yet understood, in the least. It was believed to be not very broad, and to be divided, perhaps, by straits, by which ships might pass from sea to sea. Through all the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth, every navigator who found a new inlet, or large river-mouth, or bay, sailed into it with the hope that he had discovered the much-desired "northwest passage," at last. The first English exploration of America after Cabot's had that

Searching
for a
"northwest
passage"

object of search in view. It was conducted by Martin Frobisher, who led three expeditions, in 1576-7-8, with no result but the discovery of Frobisher's Bay, north of Hudson's Strait, and the bringing to England of a worthless cargo of iron pyrites, supposing it to be gold.

Chartering of
the English
East India
Company,
1600

Failing to reach the Indies by any new passage, the English followed the example of the Dutch and became intruders in the Portuguese route, round the Cape of Good Hope. On the last day of the year 1600 "the Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," which became afterward so great and famous as the East India Company of England, was chartered by the queen. The company sent out its first fleet of five vessels in 1601. They returned, after an absence of two years and seven months, laden richly, in part with pepper from Sumatra and in part with the spoils of a Portuguese ship, captured in the Straits of Malacca. The expedition had settled a trading agency or factory at Bantam, and that was the beginning of the vast empire which England now rules in the east.

Sir Hum-
phrey
Gilbert's
colonizing
under-
takings,
1578-1583

In 1578, the claim of England to a part of the New World was asserted first, by the issuing of a royal patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "for the inhabiting and planting of our own people in America," empowering him, for the next six years, to discover "such remote heathen and barbarous lands, not actually possessed by any Christian prince or people," as he might find, and to occupy the same. Gilbert's first expedition was diverted from its colonizing purpose, to attack a Spanish squadron, in which it failed. On his second voyage, undertaken in 1583, he took formal possession of the island of Newfoundland, and proceeded to cross the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but was buffeted by storms which sank one of his ships and compelled him to turn back. Pursued still by tempests on his homeward voyage, his own frail vessel was swallowed by the waves. Not long before it sank, he had cried the cheering message to companions who sailed near, on a better ship, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land."

Gilbert's projects were taken up and pursued by his half-brother, Walter Raleigh (afterward Sir Walter), who spent his fortune and the best years of his life in

attempts to give England a substantial footing in America. Beginning with admirable prudence, he sent two intelligent captains, in 1584, to explore and choose a place for the planting of a settlement, which they did, reporting in favor of the island of Roanoke. There, accordingly, a colony of 108 persons was seated, the following year; but its members lost heart within a twelvemonth, and Captain Drake, visiting them in the course of one of his cruises, was persuaded to take them home. A second colony, which Raleigh sent to the same place in 1587, suffered an unknown fate. Because of war with Spain and other circumstances, the settlement was left unvisited for three years, and when reached at last, in 1590, not a trace of its people could be found. It has been conjectured that some, at least, of the lost colonists were taken into a neighboring tribe of Indians, the Croatans, whose descendants are said to show signs of the fact, in bodily features, in language and in names.

Sir Walter Raleigh's colonies, 1584-1590

Edwards, *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 1: ch. v.

Fate of the Roanoke colony

Raleigh attempted nothing more in North America; but he was lured by the El Dorado fables to Guiana, which he became ambitious to snatch from Spain. He conducted an expedition to the Orinoco in 1595, and explored the river for some distance, until stopped by winter floods. Though he gathered little real encouragement from what he found, Raleigh's faith in the riches of Guiana was unimpaired, and he sent out two parties in the following year to pursue his search. Neither made any new discovery, except that the Spaniards were bestirring themselves to occupy the country and make their possession of it secure. At this point the exertions of Sir Walter to establish a substantial English interest in America were suspended for twenty years, and then revived only to make an incident in the tragedy of his death.

Raleigh's expedition to Guiana, 1595

When Raleigh paused, colonizing enterprise was extinguished for the time in England; but the indefinite English claim to most of North America was maintained, and the whole region was named Virginia, in honor of Elizabeth, "the virgin queen." The equally indefinite French claim, to what was called New France, conflicting extensively with the English claim, was upheld in like

English and French claims

manner, while no practical occupation of any part of the country was accomplished until 1608.

English ventures in American settlement, resumed a little later than the French, were slightly earlier in obtaining success. In 1606 a strong joint stock company for the colonization of Virginia was chartered by King James I. It was divided into two branches, one given jurisdiction over territory lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth parallels of north latitude, to the depth of a hundred miles from the coast; the other to have possession of the same breadth of country between the forty-first and forty-fifth parallels. In the zone between these belts the two branches of the company were to have equal competitive rights of colonization, and this was expected to stimulate enterprise in both. In reality, the charter created two companies; for one section of what was nominally a single "Virginia Company" had its headquarters in London, the other in Plymouth, the former assigned to the southern, the latter to the northern field.

Both bodies sent out colonists in 1607; but the settlement attempted from Plymouth, at the mouth of the Kennebec River, was given up the next spring, while that from London, planted on James River, was established with success. The Jamestown colony might have fared even worse than that on the Kennebec (called the Popham colony), if it had not, by good fortune, included among its members one vigorous and competent man. Captain John Smith has suffered at the hands of many historians. His character has been assailed, his own account of himself discredited, his services in Virginia belittled; but time is bringing justice to his memory. His fellow colonists, with whom he quarreled on the voyage out, who put him in irons during part of the voyage, and who refused at first to let him sit in the ruling council of six, to which he had been appointed, were obliged at last to place themselves under his command. Generally speaking, they were utterly unfit for the kind of adventure they had entered upon. They were interested in nothing but the seeking of gold, and disappointment in that search sapped all the little vigor they had. It was Smith's foresight and common sense, his energy and dominating power, exercised

The Virginia
Company
and its two
branches,
1606

The
Jamestown
colony, 1607

Captain
John Smith

over themselves and over the neighboring savages alike, that saved them through the first two years. "But for this man's superb courage and resourcefulness," writes John Fiske, "one can hardly believe that the colony would have lasted until 1609. More likely it would have perished in one of the earlier seasons of sore trial. It would have succumbed like Lane's colony, and White's [these were the two Raleigh settlements], and Popham's; one more would have been added to the sickening list of failures, and the hopes built upon Virginia in England would have been sadly dashed. The utmost ingenuity on the part of Smith's detractors can never do away with the fact that his personal qualities did more than anything else to prevent such a direful calamity."

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia
and her
Neighbors*,
1: 159

Smith's well-known account of his capture by the Indians while exploring the country, and of the intervention of Pocahontas, daughter of the chief, Powhatan, has been especially the subject of doubt. A careful examination of the grounds of skepticism is made in Fiske's work on "Old Virginia," and he puts them all aside, as having no real weight. His conclusion is that "the rescue of Smith by Pocahontas was an event of real historic importance. Without it the subsequent relations of the Indian girl with the English colony become incomprehensible. But for her friendly services on more than one occasion the tiny settlement would probably have perished. Her visits to Jamestown and the regular supply of provisions by the Indians began at this time."

The story of
Pocahontas

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia*,
1: 111

After Smith left the colony, in October, 1609, all order and good management seem to have disappeared. The Indians were provoked to hostility, and the thriftless settlers, still dependent on their dusky neighbors for corn, were deprived of supplies. Such a "starving time" followed that only sixty out of five hundred of the Jamestown inhabitants were alive when the next spring came. In May this starved remnant was joined by another forlorn party, of about one hundred and fifty, which had left England a year before and had suffered shipwreck on one of the Bermuda islands. During a stay of many months on the island, they built two pinnaces, which brought them at last to the end of their voyage. In the party were

"The
starving
time" at
Jamestown,
1609-1610

The colony
rescued

two important officials, Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant-governor, and Sir George Somers, admiral, appointed upon a reorganization of the company and its government, in the previous year. They saw no hope for the colony, and, having determined to abandon it, the whole company, crowded into two small pinnaces, set sail. Before reaching the sea, however, they were met by three ships, arriving from England, bringing Lord Delaware, the appointed governor of the colony, with more settlers, of a good working class, and a store of supplies. The colony was saved. The departing people turned back, and Jamestown was inhabited once more.

The London
Company
and its new
charter, 1609

What had been the London branch of the Virginia Company was now the London Company, a distinct corporation, having a new charter, in which the boundaries of its territory had been changed. Its jurisdiction was now defined as extending "from sea to sea, west and northwest," and having four hundred miles of coast on the Atlantic, half of that stretch to be north of Old Point Comfort, and half of it south. The grant "from sea to sea" was common in the territorial patents of that day, when the continent was supposed to be a narrow body of land. The expression "west and northwest" is obscure, and it gave rise to much dispute in later days, when Virginia founded claims upon it to a large region in the northwest.

Under its new charter, the London Company was strengthened greatly in numbers and capital and its political powers were enlarged. It became able to endow the governor whom it sent to Virginia with autocratic authority, and the colony was invigorated for a time by that kind of rule.

The French in America

Parkman,
*Pioneers of
France*, 169-
263

The French in the St. Lawrence region can hardly be said to have founded any colony yet, in the proper sense of the term, but they had established an extensive fur trade with the Indians, with its headquarters or principal factory at Quebec. Furthermore, they had introduced a zealous and effective missionary work among the Indians, which the English in America were much slower in doing.

On the coast of the peninsula at the south of the great gulf, in the region called Acadia by the French, a struggling settlement named Port Royal was growing up, to become the Annapolis of Nova Scotia at the present day.

Acadia

The chief actor and the most notable figure in all the early enterprises of the French in America was Samuel de Champlain, founder of Quebec, careful explorer of the New England coast (as early as 1605), discoverer of the lake in New York that bears his name, first to trace the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario and the Ottawa River to its head waters, and first to reach Georgian Bay. Champlain strove hard and vainly for thirty years to bring about a really colonizing policy, instead of mere fur-trading undertakings, in the great domain of New France. Yet no one else did so much to win the friendship of the Indians in that domain, which made it a rich field for the trade in furs.

Samuel de Champlain

Most of the Indian tribes north of the St. Lawrence and around the Gulf, as well as in New England, belonged to a great linguistic division called the Algonquin. South of the St. Lawrence, in what is now the State of New York, were the principal tribes of another powerful linguistic group, the Iroquois. These Iroquois and the Algonquins were deadly enemies and constantly at war; but the latter were in friendly alliance with another Iroquoian tribe, known as the Hurons, who dwelt in the midst of the Algonquins, on the eastern side of the lake that bears their name, and who, consequently, were mortal foes of their kindred in New York. To secure and keep the friendship of the Algonquins and Hurons, Champlain was forced to go into alliance with them and join them in several invasions of the Iroquois domain. This caused a long-lasting hostility to the French on the part of the Iroquois, who were the most formidable warriors in America, and ranged them on the side of the English, when French and English in America came to strife.

Indian tribes,
Algonquins,
Iroquois,
Hurons

The Dutch in America

Almost evenly in time with the English and the French, the Dutch had established a footing for trade and settlement in the New World. An Englishman, Henry Hudson, was

On the
Hudson

New
Netherland

the first to enter and explore the fine river that bears his name; but he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and his visit was followed by the planting of a Dutch trading station on Manhattan Island, in the next year. The neighboring coast, from Cape Cod to Delaware Bay, was then explored and mapped, and a broad region, named New Netherland, was claimed as a possession by the rising republic, which had just broken the yoke of Spain. The English claim to this region was ignored, and rightly, because no actual occupation of the country, by settlement in it, had made the claim good.

China and Japan

Beginning of
Christian
missions,
1549-1583

It was not till about the middle of the sixteenth century that direct intercourse by sea with China and Japan was opened by the Portuguese. In 1560 they obtained permission from local mandarins to establish a trading station at Macao, near Canton, and a considerable settlement was soon formed at that place. Prior to this, by a few years, Japan had received its first Portuguese visitors, and Father Francis Xavier, the famous Jesuit missionary, had entered the islands with two companions in 1549. Xavier labored in Japan for two years, proceeding thence toward China, but dying on the way. The work of Christian preaching thus begun was carried on by others until large numbers of converts had been won, especially in the city of Nagasaki, which became the seat of Portuguese trade. In China, the Christian missions were later, Father Michel Roger, of the Jesuit order, reaching the country in 1581, and Father Ricci in 1583. The Chinese appear to have listened to the new teaching with more coldness than the Japanese.

Both China and Japan at this time were in a most disordered state, under the rule in both instances of families whose original energy and capacity for government had suffered a rapid decay. The Ming dynasty in China—last of the native sovereigns of the empire—beset by constant rebellions and menaced by a new growth of Tatar power in Manchuria, from seed left by the old masters of northern China, the Kins, was tottering to its fall. In Japan, the last of the Ashikaga shoguns was deposed in

1573 by a strong man, Ota Nobunaga, who arose among the provincial rulers and began to subjugate them to himself, one by one. The supremacy of Nobunaga in the empire was nearly established when he perished, through treachery, in 1682. His unfinished task was taken up by one of his lieutenants, Hideyoshi (sometimes named Fashiba), an abler man than himself. Hideyoshi, who raised himself from humble life, aspired to the office of shogun, which Nobunaga, for some reason, had not taken; but all the power he acquired could not win it for one of so lowly a birth. The shogunate remained vacant from 1573 till 1603, though its powers were exercised by two military chiefs who were shoguns in all but the name.

Nobunaga
and
Hideyoshi
in Japan,
1573-1598

At the height of his power, Hideyoshi projected the conquest of Korea and China, and sent a great invading army to the former country in 1592. Opposing forces came from China to the help of the Koreans, and bloody battles were fought with no decisive success on either side. The war was ended by the death of Hideyoshi in 1598. He left an infant son, to whom he hoped to transmit his power, through the agency of a council of regents whom he commissioned to that end; but the regents became rival contestants for supremacy, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, their president, won the scepter of sovereignty, reviving in his own person the shogunate, which administered the government of the empire thereafter until a recent time. Of the three men, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Ieyasu, who overcame anarchy in the sixteenth century and reconsolidated the Japanese empire, Ieyasu was the greater. He was a statesman who did enduring work. He settled conditions of society and government in Japan which underwent little change for two centuries and a half. Since the rise of the military class and the seizure of practical sovereignty by the shoguns, in the twelfth century, an organization of aristocracy which resembled the feudalism of Europe very closely, and which is commonly described as feudalistic, had grown up. Ieyasu reconstructed it, somewhat as William the Conqueror reconstructed the feudal order in England, and made it serviceable to the solidifying of the state. The fiefs or lordships were redistributed, and the daimyos, or lords,

War in
Korea

Revival
of the
shogunate,
1603

Tokugawa
Ieyasu,
1603-1616

The
Japanese
feudal
system

were re-classed. For his government the new shogun founded a new capital, at Jedo—the Tokio of the present day.

Murray,
Japan, ch.
viii-xii

Political
suppression
of the
mikado

Ieyasu was most ingenious in his method of taking all substantial authority from the mikado, while leaving him undisturbed in his nominal sovereignty of the state. He accomplished this by a profound and impressive recognition of the sacred character of the sovereign, in order to deduce from it the doctrine that “the descendant of the gods must be completely divested of all executive functions, these passing absolutely and unquestionably into the hands of the shogun, who should exercise them without reference to the sovereign, accepting, in return, full responsibility for the public peace and good order of the country which he thus undertook to govern. No command of the emperor could have the force of law unless it received the counter-signature of one of the shogun’s chief officials. In short, nothing was left to the sovereign except the prerogative of conferring honors and titles.” The political suppression of the mikado by this doctrine was maintained till 1868.

Brinkley,
*Japan; Its
History,
Arts and
Literature*,
3 : 90

Before the advent of Ieyasu the Christian missionaries and their proselytes had provoked the hostility of government by exhibiting, it is said, an arrogant intolerance, wherever their numbers became strong, destroying Buddhist temples, slaying Buddhist priests, and threatening the empire with a state of religious war. This is the excuse which historians have found for measures taken to arrest and suppress the Christian propagandism begun by Father Xavier. Hideyoshi was the first to resort to such measures; but the merciless persecution that extinguished Christianity in the islands was ordered by Ieyasu and carried to completion by his successors.

Extirpation
of Christian-
ity in Japan,
1614-1638

Shortly before the opening of the final persecution of Christians, the Dutch came into rivalry with the Portuguese as traders in Japan, and succeeded, about 1640, in supplanting the latter entirely, obtaining exclusive commercial rights. For the next two hundred years they were the only foreigners (except the Chinese) who had admission to intercourse with any part of the Japanese empire, and all western knowledge of the islands and their

The Dutch
in Japan

people was obtained through them. To secure and maintain this exclusive and profitable footing, the Dutch were accused of having, at least, looked on at the persecution of Christians with indifference, and even of having submitted to the Japanese test of Christian renunciation by trampling on the cross; but this has been denied.

Founding of the Moghul empire in India

In this period the greater part of India came into subjection to a dynasty of Mongol sovereigns, founded by Baber, a descendant of Timour, who won the title of emperor of Hindostan in a great battle fought at Panipat, northwest of Delhi, in 1526. Baber had been preceded in the sovereignty of more or less of the Hindu peninsula by a succession of Mohammedan war lords, mostly of Turkish origin, who came out of Afghanistan, after the dynasty of Mahmud of Ghazni ran its course. The one notable fact in five wretched centuries of Indian history, from Mahmud to Baber, is the wide extension of Mohammedanism in the country, and its domination in the government, but never to the suppression of Brahmanism and Hinduism, which have remained always the religion of a vast majority of the subjugated people.

Baber
1526-1530

From
Mahmud to
Baber

Northern India had been harassed and ravaged repeatedly by Mongol invasions since the time of Genghis Khan; Timour's inroad, in 1398-9, was like a visitation of destroying demons; but Baber was the first of that terrible race to stay in the country as its conqueror and make it his seat of power. His son nearly lost what the father had won; but his grandson, Akbar, recovered all and more, becoming the real founder of what came to be called the Moghul empire, in a reign of nearly fifty years, from 1556 to 1605.

Akbar,
1556-1605

HISTORIC EPOCHS

V

EPOCH OF POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS

FROM THE PRELUDES OF REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND TO
THE NAPOLEONIZING OF THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIFTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE,
TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE DEATH OF CROMWELL TO THE DEATH OF
LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE, TO
THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN
REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE FIFTH EPOCH

The change in modes of life, labor, feeling, thought and conduct which we call our advancing civilization moved rapidly, in the two centuries of this epoch, toward the complexity of the present day. Science opened new domains of knowledge ; Philosophy scanned new vistas of speculative thought ; Art recognized a neglected sister, in Music, and made much of her ; Invention began a wonderful breeding of mechanical servants for mankind. At no former time in history had there been such widening and multiplying of the avenues to distinction,—such crowding of the stage with personages too important to go unnoticed in our review. Nevertheless, war and politics kept their preëminence among the activities of the world ; because the clutch of absolutism was still fast on nearly all governments, and the greatest task of the time was to break it loose.

The roll of celebrities in state-craft and battle is long ; we will call it first, and begin where the half-religious conflicts of the preceding age passed into and were extinguished in secular convulsions that came then to their turn. That happened in the hideous Thirty Years War, which paralyzed Germany and made it laggard for a century among the European states. It was a war unredeemed by any benignant influence or effect, and few of the adventurers and mercenaries that figure in it can interest us in the least. Tilly only terrorizes our imagination by the horrors that attended his campaigns. Wallenstein, the military contractor, making strange mixtures of speculation, ambition, superstition and mysticism in his work, compels us to regard him with a certain unadmiring awe. When Gustavus Adolphus, of Sweden, comes on the scene, we may question the motives of his intervention, yet we recognize the higher type of soldier and man. As a soldier he improved the art of war ; as a king he gave marked proofs of statesmanship in his government at home ; as a man he lent a dignity to the cause of the Protestant princes in Germany, which it lost when he fell. It seems quite within the possibilities that he might have changed the whole tenor and consequence of the Thirty Years' War, with profound effects in future history, if he had not come to his untimely death. Oxenstiern,

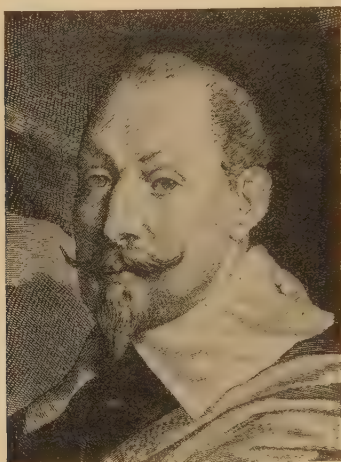
Count Tilly
1559-1632

Wallenstein
1583-1634

Gustavus
Adolphus,
1594-1632

Oxenstiern,
1583-1654

as regent and chancellor of the young queen, Christina, continued to exercise the authority and use the forces of the Swedish crown with



Gustavus Adolphus

From painting by Van Dyck

James I.,
of England,
1566-1625

perate in drink, offensive in many habits, undignified or ludicrous in manner and bearing, silly with conceitedness, even when shrewd, preposterous in his pretensions, exasperating in his choice and treatment of favorites, insulting to public opinion in most of his policy, and, beyond all, obnoxious to English prejudice as a Scot, the first James was everything that could be needed to dispel notions of divinity in the kingship he represented

Charles I.,
of England,
1600-1649

His son Charles, with a princely bearing, a courtly manner, and admirable decencies of habit and life, might have recovered for the crown a good part of the prestige his father had lost, and revived something of the spell that royalty of old had been able to cast on the popular mind, if radical falsities of nature had not persistently broken through a surface-show of pleasing traits. Truthfulness was not in him, or faithfulness, even to friends, or any unselfish warmth of heart, but only obstinacy, and a cold determination to have his will and way.

In the history of the struggle with the last of these kings nine names are preëminent. They are the names of Hampden, Pym, Eliot, Falkland, Hyde, Vane, Wentworth, Laud, Cromwell. Cromwell's importance was not manifested till after a year or more of

great ability, for a dozen years ; but the influence won by Gustavus could not be kept alive, and every hope of a possible outcome of good from the war was lost.

While war at its worst was exhibited in Germany, the English people applied it to the best of its uses, in their rising against insolent tyrannies of the crown. Providence had prepared them for this bold breach of loyalty, by giving them a king whom they could not, by any stretch of superstition, regard with reverence, as a sacrosanct being, divinely commissioned to tread on their necks. Coarse in speech, intem-

actual war. By that time, all except Hyde and Vane of the remaining eight had ended their careers, passing off the stage of action before the "ironside" soldier strode forward to its front. Hampden, Pym and Eliot had ended as they began, in opposition to the king. Laud, too, on the royal side, stood unchanged from first to last ; but Wentworth, Hyde and Falkland had gone over to that side from opposition.

While Hampden and Pym lived their influence was very great. Hyde (afterward earl of Clarendon and historian of the ensuing civil war) testifies of Hampden that, "the eyes of all men were fixed on him as their *pater patriæ*, and the pilot that must steer their vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it." He made that impression on his contemporaries, and he makes it still in history, standing next to Washington among the ideal exemplars of patriotism, perfected in all qualities of heart and mind. And yet how little he had done when his life was cut short! His importance came, like that of Washington, from what he was, more than from what he did, exemplifying the impressive fact that great causes are upheld more powerfully by grand characters than by mighty deeds. Pym's influence was grounded likewise on character,—on a deep religious earnestness, narrowed by no sectarian temper, and allied with great solidity of practical understanding. It could not have been possible for these statesmen, or for any, to bring England to a state of peace, under a constitutional government, with Charles on the throne ; for no statesmanship could deal with falsities like his ; but they might, perhaps, have moderated or avoided the antagonisms that grew up between parliament and army, and between presbyterianism and independency ; might perhaps have been able to put Charles aside without making him a royal martyr by taking his life, and might have utilized Cromwell's tremendous energy and power of command, without giving him



John
Hampden,
1594-1643

Hampden

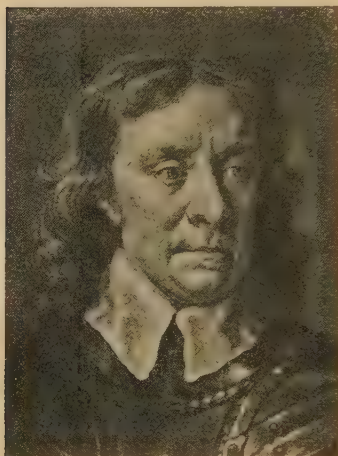
From engraving by Houbraken

John Pym,
1584-1643

the king's place, with more absolute authority than the king had claimed.

The evolution of a parliament that would not have been a "rump," but respectably representative of the English nation, seems no impossibility, if Hampden and Pym had lived. After they passed away, events moved inevitably to the dictatorship — the autocracy —

which Cromwell took to himself; taking it with perfect right, as being the one man able to hold and wield such absolute power. For that masterful, summary solution of the immediate problems of the situation, Cromwell's ability was unsurpassed. Of the problems that lay beyond, it may be that there was no solution. If there was, Cromwell's powers did not reach them. He had what Gardiner, the historian, has described as "a massive common sense and a grasp on the realities of the present"; but he did not have — his work does not show — that prescient vision and apprehension of a higher



Cromwell

From painting by Lely

statesmanship, which anticipates and prepares for coming time. So it was that when he died, dropping the reins of an autocracy which none but himself could handle, he left England with no alternative to an unconditional restoration of its discarded race of kings.

If Vane could have had the help of Hampden and Pym, it is easy to believe that the representative parliament for which he strove might have been secured. He was no ordinary man. He proved his statesmanship in negotiating the alliance with the Scots and in administering the navy which Blake used so well; he proved his resoluteness in resisting Cromwell; but there was something in the religious mysticality of the man — "giddiness," Clarendon called it — which impaired what seemed to be his natural weight in public affairs. In Carlyle's eyes he appeared to be "a thin man," "of light fibre"; but what can that dyspeptic judgment signify, in the face of the immortalizing sonnet of Milton, his friend and co-worker in the Commonwealth council of state: —

Oliver
Cromwell,
1599-1658

Gardiner,
*History of
the Great
Civil War*,
I: ch. xx.

Sir Henry
Vane,
1612-1662

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome."

Eliot, frail in health, was crushed so early by the heartless tyranny he resisted that he had little time to serve the cause of freedom; but he left a brave example, and memories of a noble eloquence, for the inspiration of those who lived and fought on.

Sir John
Eliot,
1592-1632

In the party of the ultimate royalists the man of great powers was Wentworth, who received the title of earl of Strafford when he joined the supporters of the king. His change of party was so opportune, after Buckingham's death had opened an approach to the confidence of the king, and his turn from political intimacy with Pym to sympathetic association with Laud was so sharp and extreme, that belief in the sincerity of his motives is very hard. Nevertheless that is the belief of the most searching and fair-minded investigators of his life and of the circumstances of the time. Gardiner declares that he was "neither an apostate nor a deserter." He was satisfied with what parliament had won in the "petition of right"; he had no sympathy with Puritanism; "he had no confidence



Thomas
Wentworth,
earl of
Strafford,
1593-1641

Strafford

From painting by Van Dyck

in the house of commons as an instrument of government;" hence he turned to the defense of the crown against further attacks. If there still seems to be room for some question of ambition in Strafford's case, let us give all the benefit of the doubt to one who suffered such a fate, in so manly a way.

Gardiner,
*History of
England*,
1603-1642,
6:34-5

Of the sincerity of Falkland and Hyde there is no doubt. When church questions came uppermost in the conflict, their convictions carried them to the king's side. Some have judged that they left parliament with a needless and unwise haste, and that the fault was Hyde's, whose "subtle and potent persuasiveness," as Bayne describes it, moved Falkland to a course which does not seem to have satisfied his final sense of right. The civil war was sickening to

Lord
Falkland,
1610-1643

Edward
Hyde,
earl of
Clarendon,
1608-1674

Falkland's soul; there is much to indicate that he did not feel rightly placed in it; there are even signs of intention in the recklessness with which he threw his life away in the first Newbury fight. He was one to whom no doubt of his own action in so grave a matter could be endurable. Hyde, himself, it is clear, pursued his chosen course with no doubts or regrets, acting upon the dictates of a singularly calm and disciplined mind.

His subsequent history of the war,—wonderfully dispassionate and generous for the narrative of an active partisan,—and all his efforts to moderate the revenges of his party when it recovered power, bear ample testimony to the high quality of the man.

Of Laud, the ecclesiastical despot,—the arch mischief-maker in the king's council,—next to Charles himself the chief author of the civil war,—it is not easy to speak in temperate terms. If we credit him with a sincere zeal in what he did, it is the sincerity of a mind so small and a spirit so petty that it challenges con-



Laud

From painting by Van Dyck

tempt. Not even the dignity of a dogma upheld his intolerance. "He was not," says Goldwin Smith, "a bigot or a fanatic, but a martinet." He cared little for speculative opinions; his interest was all focused on the most trivial forms and ceremonies of the church, and he was bent on forcing everybody to concede the importance to them which they bore in his shallow mind. Having acquired dictatorial authority and power, he used them as men of little intellect, large conceit, and a bustling energy are always sure to do.

Into the company of the "chief characters" of this great English conflict shall we take the brave, brilliant, picturesque Montrose, and the headlong, rough-riding Prince Rupert, who did the best fighting that was done for the king? Shall we take in the soldier-sailor Blake, who opened the legitimate naval history of England, which Drake had but prefaced with piratical exploits? If we hesitate on these names, we cannot be doubtful of the claim of Monk to a place

Archbishop
Laud,
1573-1645

Goldwin
Smith, *The
United
Kingdom*,
1:484

James
Graham,
Marquis of
Montrose,
1612-1650
Prince
Rupert,
1619-1682
Robert
Blake,
1598(?) - 1657

in our roll, not by reason of any distinction in the man, but because of the one critical juncture that cast the destiny of the nation into his hands. He was a practical, plain man, and he ended the first act of the English revolution as a practical man was bound, no doubt, by the circumstances, to do,—abandoning all its objects and falling back to the starting point, for a precarious peace. If anything else was practicable, nothing else could be expected from this excellent soldier, who could serve any cause to which fortune might call him, and serve it well.

George Monk,
duke of
Albemarle,
1608-1670

With or without the determination of Monk, the second Charles Stuart was quite certain to be called from exile to his father's restored throne; because England, politically, had been dissolved to an elemental state, in which nothing but a royal crown could start the crystallizing of government again. And events showed no loss in the end from that abject and humiliating surrender to the Stuarts and their cavaliers. The worthlessness of Charles II. and the bigotries of James II. were needed, to renew the disenchantment which those who made a martyr of the first Charles had rendered necessary, and to harden the temper of the whole nation for a more resolute, a more definite, and a more strictly political movement of revolution than the first had been. In that second effort the English people accomplished what many influences had made impossible half a century before; but the men of the final revolution are not to be compared with the men of the Long Parliament and of the civil war. The wise, judicial, upright Somers may rank with Pym and Hampden and Vane; but what other of his contemporaries can be estimated so high? Halifax, known in his own day as "the trimmer," might be an accepted peer of the great Puritan revolutionists if a little of heroic temper had been added to the clear, large, philosophic attributes of his mind; but he shrank too much from risks and chose middle courses too often to be counted among the strong men of history.

Charles II.,
of England,
1630-1685

James II.,
of England,
1633-1701

John, baron
Somers,
1652-1716

George Savile,
marquis of
Halifax,
1630-1695

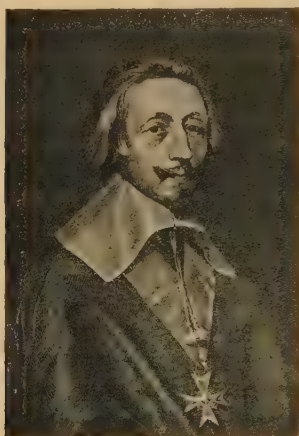
The really impressive figure in these events is that of the sickly king whom England borrowed from the Dutch; and he belonged to the European stage. England was but the setting of a scene or two for the grand drama in which he played the hero's part, with the king of France for the villain of the piece and a prodigious cast of victims and dupes. Feeble in body, indomitable in spirit, exhaustless in persevering patience, tireless in devotion to public duty, and with a political perspicacity that was hardly less than genius, he has had very few equals in the large handling of European affairs.

William of
Orange
(William
III., of
England),
1652-1702

Certainly, none before him, except Richélieu, had dealt as ably with European politics at large ; and the great cardinal's problems had

been partly like his own. In Richélieu's generation, Europe was menaced by the aggressiveness of the house of Austria, allied by kinship with that of Spain, and he employed a large share of his energies in forming and directing combinations to check that growth of power,—just as William of Orange, in his day, labored to organize leagues against Louis XIV. of France. But Richélieu had aggressive as well as defensive aims. He worked with an eye single to the aggrandizement of France and the up-building of its royal throne. He created the conditions that made Louis XIV. the "grand monarch"

Cardinal
Richélieu,
1585-1642



Richélieu

From painting by Champaigne.

of the next age ; which made the Bourbons more threatening to Europe than the Hapsburgs had been, and which gave William of Orange a harder task in foreign policy than his own. Mazarin, his pupil, may be said to have preserved most of the results of his work.

Cardinal
Mazarin,
1602-1661

Louis XIV.,
of France,
1638-1715

Louis XIV., who inherited those results, is one of the kings who should be pilloried for the lasting detestation of mankind. By his devouring self-indulgences ; by the crushing burdens that he laid on his own subjects, and the deadly oppressions that he practiced upon them ; by his wicked wars of aggression upon his neighbors ; by the wantonly brutal devastations which he sent his armies to perform in the fairest lands of the Rhine ; by his infamous revival of religious persecution in France, after nearly a full century of Christian toleration and peace ; by the vileness of his corrupt and corrupting court ; by all the gilded and glorified examples of vice, heartlessness, egotism, perfidy, that he set before the world, he wrought more evil, more misery, more lasting mischief, than can easily be reckoned against any other man in modern times.

Unfortunately, he was inflicted on France in one of those rare seasons of extraordinary brain-growth which psychology cannot explain, and it gave him such servants for his ministry, such commanders for his armies, such wits, poets, orators for his court, as no other

monarchs, save Augustus and Elizabeth, have ever enjoyed. It gave him Colbert, the matchless administrator,—the wonder-worker, in finance and public economy, who made it possible for France to live through his measureless extortions. It gave him Louvois, who exercised a genius in expenditure that almost equaled Colbert's in providing the means. It gave him Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, and a brilliant staff of less famous marshals and generals, for his grasping wars.

Jean
Baptiste
Colbert,
1619-1683

Marquis de
Louvois,
1641-1691

Vicomte
Turenne,
1611-1675

For years his commanders were unrivaled ; but two, at last, were brought against them, who surpassed them all. These were Marlborough, the ablest soldier that England has ever produced, and Prince Eugene of Savoy. In every other aspect of his character Marlborough provokes contempt. He had no honesty, no fidelity, no trustworthiness or sound morality of any discoverable nature ; but his genius shone superbly in war. In that respect Prince Eugene was hardly his peer ; but infinitely beyond him in all that makes an admirable man.

John
Churchill,
duke of
Marl-
borough,
1650-1722

Prince
Eugene,
1663-1736

War raged in northern Europe during most of these years, as well as in the south. Out of hostilities between Sweden and Poland, an elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, known as "the great elector," dextrously using a small, well organized army, first on one side and then on the other, contrived to win territory and importance, completing a union of Brandenburg with the duchy of Prussia, and emerging as a sovereign of considerable importance in German affairs. Poland had many contentions in these times, with Russia, with the Cossacks of the Ukraine, and with the Turks. In her desperate Turkish wars she trained a notable soldier, John Sobieski, whom, at last, her factious nobles had wisdom enough to raise to the Polish throne. It was a fortunate election for Europe ; for the prompt energy of Sobieski in hurrying to the rescue of Vienna, in 1683, gave a conclusive check to the western advance of the Turks.

Frederick
William,
"the great
elector,"
1620-1688



Peter the Great

From painting by de Moor

John
Sobieski,
1624-1696

Peter the
Great, of
Russia,
1672-1725

Russia acquired at this time its most remarkable ruler, in the czar Peter I., called "the great." While indifferent to all refinements of culture, and little better than a savage in personal manners and morals, his intelligence and strength of character were very great. His sense of the deficiency of his people in material arts moved him even to become a student and apprentice, himself, working as such in Dutch and English shipyards and shops. The ideas and the knowledge that he acquired were carried home and forced upon his people in an autocratic but surprisingly effective way.

Charles
XII., of
Sweden,
1682-1718

In Sweden, too, an extraordinary man came now to the throne,—the young Charles XII., whose career is explainable only by the dictum of Dryden, that "great wits"—that is, the powers of genius—"are sure to madness near allied." Nothing short of genius can be ascribed to the inception and conduct of the marvelous campaigns in which he anticipated and disconcerted the league of his enemies; and nothing less than madness will describe his subsequent course.



Penn

From painting by Place

John
Winthrop,
1587-1649

Thomas
Hooker,
1585-1647

John
Cotton,
1585-1652

Roger
Williams,
1600(?) - 1684

The contests of Europe were now reaching America, and, before going farther among the chief actors in them, it seems best to turn attention for a moment to that New World, where men of importance in history had risen already. Winthrop, the even-minded, upright, trusted leader of the Massachusetts colony,—the typical Puritan gentleman in public life, as developed by colonial circumstances that gave Puritanism its unhindered way,—had finished his good work and passed from the scene. So, too, had Hooker, architect of the Connecticut commonwealth, and therefore, as Fiske entitles him, "the father of American democracy," and John Cotton, the main pillar of church independency on both sides of the sea. Roger Williams had established the "colony of Providence Plantations" which became Rhode Island, and had preached and exemplified that tolerance of religious free thought which the changing convictions of his own large, open, candid, seeking mind taught him to understand

as a need and a right. Already Lord Baltimore, in the founding of Maryland as a refuge for abused English Catholics, had set the practical example of toleration, and Penn, the great-hearted, pure-hearted, large-minded Quaker, had repeated it in the province that he bought from the king.

So far, Virginia had not been fortunate in the notable men she had drawn. Captain John Smith, most delightful of adventurers, vain and boastful, but supremely capable, resourceful and upright, had stayed with her first settlement just long enough to save it from instant failure; Bacon, the bold young revolutionist, had not lived long enough to show his real mettle; Governor Berkeley had tyrannized the colony, with his narrow notions and his irascible temper, too long for its good or his own.

In French America a splendid geographical work, begun by Champlain, was being carried on by heroic explorers, of whom La Salle was the peerless knight. For courage, resolution, endurance, commanding powers of will and intellect, there is nothing in the annals of exploration to surpass the westward journeys of La Salle, through the wilderness region of the great lakes to the Mississippi, and, finally, southward to the gulf. From these sprang rival claims, French and English, to the great interior valleys of the continent, bringing them more and more into importance among the causes and objects of subsequent wars.

For about a quarter of a century after the death of Louis XIV., England was kept at peace by one of the most useful statesmen who ever wielded power. Coarse-grained in nature, incapable of exalted feelings on any side of it, contemptuous of ideals and principles, but endowed with rare practical common sense and a masterful will, Sir Robert Walpole kept the course of the English government on the best possible lines, while its new Hanoverian dynasty was being naturalized, and its new system of responsible ministerial administration was becoming settled and secure.

Then came the dreadful wars of the middle decades of the eighteenth century, opening with that in which the heroic Maria Theresa, of Austria, defended her heritage against a greedy pack of perfidious assailants, led by the king of Prussia, whose admirers call him Frederick the Great. If the powers that make for unrighteous success—that accomplish ends without scruple as to means—are sufficient for greatness, his title is good. He displayed a crafty wisdom, a cunning sagacity, a ruthless energy, a tyrannical will, a cynical and faithless philosophy of life, which triumphed in the

Lord
Baltimore,
1580(?)–1632
William
Penn,
1644–1718

Captain
John Smith,
1579–1631

Nathaniel
Bacon,
1642–1676

Sir William
Berkeley,
died 1677

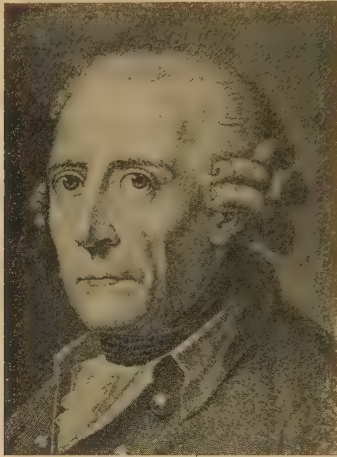
Samuel de
Champlain,
1567–1635

Robert
Cavelier
de la Salle,
1643–1687

Sir Robert
Walpole,
1676–1745

Maria
Theresa, of
Austria,
1717–1780

Frederick
the Great,
of Prussia,
1712–1786



Frederick the Great
From painting by Pesne

Catherine II., of Russia, 1729-1796

Joseph II., of Austria, 1741-1790

of the Austrian sovereign, Joseph II., who sought the good of his subjects and desired to do right, but who defeated his own excellent intentions by impatient edicts, attempting to create social conditions and public sentiments that are only to be got by slow growth from planted seed.

From the "war of the Austrian succession" grew that in which the rivalries of France and England in America were fought out. The English bungled their part in it for some years, till the elder Pitt, afterward earl of Chatham, got control of the administration of government and brought about an astonishing change.

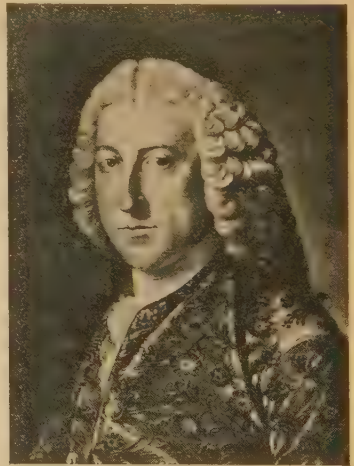
William Pitt, the elder (earl of Chatham), 1708-1778

Larned, *History of England*, 525.

General James Wolfe, 1727-1759

"In some way, the energy, the enthusiasm, the courage, the ambition, the pride of country that moved the great minister, were electrically carried through every channel of action that he touched." Wolfe, whom he sent to America, won the great prize

struggles of an extraordinary career. His kingdom was enlarged and strengthened, its industrial and its administrative organization improved; but it is not easy to see that the mass of its people had gained much more from his reign than the contemporary Russians gained from that of their famous tzarina, Catherine II. She employed, as he did, great abilities, under little moral guidance, in building up a nation as the pedestal of a throne, to raise the importance of its princes in the world. The higher motives that were lacking in both did actuate the ambition



Chatham
From engraving by Houston
every channel of action that he touched." Wolfe, whom he sent to America, won the great prize

of the contest, in defiance of every rational probability ; won it by indomitable persistence, and by the favor of fortune, which tricked his able antagonist into a fatal mistake. Had Montcalm stayed behind the walls of his Quebec citadel, the British forces might have climbed to the Plains of Abraham in vain.

Marquis de
Montcalm,
1712-1759

At the same time, in India, the prestige of the French was broken and the Hindu masses were awed to submissiveness by the audacity of Clive. Neither then nor long afterward was there much of moral sensitiveness among the bold Englishmen who mastered the millions of India and laid hands upon its wealth. They were bettering the condition of the country, compared with its former state, and they seemed to expect that that relative credit would square any account. It is a credit that can be given, in its full value, to Clive, and equally to Warren Hastings, the very able governor-general who carried forward Clive's work. The memory of Hastings was long blackened by accusations that are now regarded as untrue.

Robert
Clive,
1725-1774

Warren
Hastings,
1732-1818

The wars in which England had won great expansions of empire and power were just closing when George III. became king. He was young, badly educated, badly influenced politically, and, while most admirable in principles and intentions, he was sure to attempt more meddling with the government than English royalty had ventured on since the Stuarts lost the throne. At home, his meddling had no serious results. Its grave effects were in America, where it hastened, possibly, by many years, the breaking of the allegiance of the British colonies to the crown. No doubt that rupture would have come in the end ; but the end might have been far away, if the policy of government had not been inspired by an arbitrary temper and an ignorant obstinacy in the king. It was the spirit manifested in the Tory circle of the king, more than its measures, that provoked the indignant outbursts of Patrick Henry, wakened the apprehensions of Sam Adams, and produced a feeling in the colonies which responded to the stirring eloquence of the one and the organizing labors of the other. Under any other English king since James II., the constitutional ideas and the reasonable, conciliatory disposition represented in the English parliament by such statesmen as Chatham, Burke, Camden, Fox and Shelburne would have been more likely to prevail, against such as Grenville, who knew, says Macaulay, "no national interests except those which are expressed by pounds, shillings and pence," or such as the brilliant, superficial Townshend, or the pliant, easy-natured Lord North. In any other reign, the pacific influence of such royal officials in the colonies as the clear-sighted, calm-tem-

George III.,
of England,
1738-1820

Patrick
Henry,
1736-1799

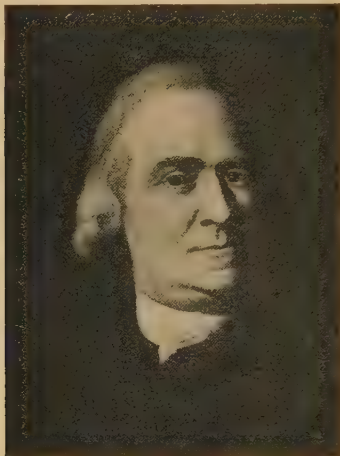
Samuel
Adams,
1722-1803

Charles
James
Fox,
1749-1806

Frederick
North,
earl of
Guilford,
1732-1792

Thomas
Hutchinson,
1711-1780

pered, honest governor Hutchinson would have been greater on both sides of the seas, and colonial leaders like Washington, Franklin,



Sam Adams

From painting by Copley

George
Washington,
1732-1799

quate can be said in the few words of our limit here? Washington "was not the greatest of soldiers, he was not the greatest of statesmen; but he combined with perfection the qualities, both moral and intellectual, that were needed for what he did. They produced in him a character so massive, so strong, so majestic, that it bore up the whole cause." The revolt of the colonies was stimulated and organized by Sam Adams, John Adams, Otis, Warren, Hancock, Henry, Lee, Paine, Rutledge, Gadsden; but nothing less than the invincible steadfastness of Washington, and the commanding influence it gave to his wisely judging and far-seeing mind, could have carried it through. Without that, the diplomatic labors of Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams and Jay, the financial skill of Morris, the military ability of Greene, Schuyler, Knox, Steuben, and the best of their fellow officers, would all have been employed in vain.

Joseph
Warren,
1741-1775

Benjamin
Franklin,
1706-1790

John
Adams,
1735-1826

John Jay,
1745-1829

James
Madison,
1751-1836

So, too, in the making of the federal union of States, by the framing, the expounding and the advocacy of its constitution, while Madison and Hamilton were the chief architects of that masterpiece of political art, it was the public faith in Washington that upheld the whole structure, from stage to stage, and accepted it from the builders' hands. And so, likewise, when the grand theory of the

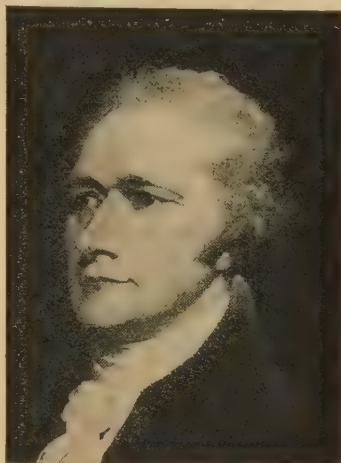
Dickinson, John Adams, would have been encouraged in the conservatism that was natural to their temperaments and their minds.

As it was, the political logic of the English revolutions of 1640-49 and 1688 was pressed to a concluding revolution in the Englishmen's America, and a great new experiment in federated nationality and republican government was set on foot. Of the preëminent actor in that revolution and that experiment,—preëminent in all history among the leaders of undertakings for the public good,—what that is half ade-



WASHINGTON

federal republic was brought to its practical test, by the organization of its government, it was the countenance of Washington, behind the statesmanship of Hamilton, that prevailed in the moulding of the character it received.



Alexander
Hamilton,
1757-1804

Hamilton

From painting by Trumbull

As the American revolution was naturally sequel to the English, so that in France came by direct evolution from both. Political ideas from the teaching of the two schools of English experience, mixed in France with doctrinaire social theories, and inflamed by the wrongs and miseries of the Bourbon despotism, produced the horrible outbursts of madness that raged in that unhappy country between 1789 and 1794. To account for the conduct of some, at least, among the master-spirits of that awful period, it seems necessary to assume that an actual brain malady, infectious and irresistible in certain natures, had been generated by the emotions of the time. We may believe the worst of such as Billaud-Varenne, Fouquier-Tinville, Barère, Hébert, Carrier ; but it is not easy to think that Danton, who moved liked a democratic Mirabeau among the actors in the great tragedy, or Robespierre, who seemed to be intended by nature for a mild and sentimental philanthropist, or St. Just or Couthon, who were Robespierre's devoted disciples, or even Marat, the infuriated savant, was a born monster, normally capable of the atrocities in which each of these men took part. There are neural epidemics which science does not yet understand, and the French "reign of terror" is probably one of the dreadful marks they have left in the history of the world. Carnot, the consummate military organizer of the revolutionists, who wrapt himself in his own less guilty work and was heedless of the blood-red hands of his colleagues, is understandable as a being of hard intellect and cold heart.

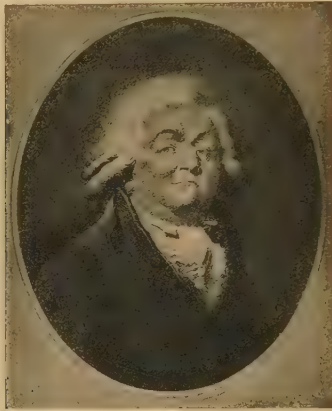
If Mirabeau, the "gigantic heathen and Titan," as Carlyle calls him, had lived till the blood-thirst began to show, what would he have done?—what would have been his fate? Could he have

Georges
Jacques
Danton,
1759-1794

Maximilien
Robespierre,
1758-1794

Lazarre
Carnot,
1753-1823

Comte de
Mirabeau,
1749-1791

**Mirabeau**

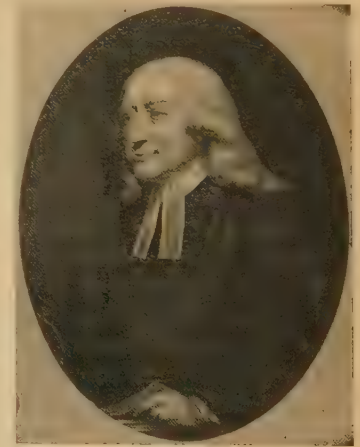
From painting by Guérin

Marquis de
Lafayette,
1757-1834

was impossible between those two, who held at the outset the only reins of restraint. But if Mirabeau and Danton, the two men of greatly powerful character, could have been drawn by affinity of spirit to some union of influence, what might they not have done, to master the jacobin mob, whipping its meaner leaders to their heels? Speculation on the "might have been" is idle enough, but who can resist the temptation?

Our roll of chiefs in politics and war might still be lengthened, with justice, but we cannot give more space to it; for other fields of distinction are crowded in this epoch, as never before. Religion claims a place (apart from her representatives in literature) for Wesley, inspiring leader of the great revival which wakened England from the spiritual deadness of the eighteenth century, and which embodied itself in the lasting organization of the Methodist church.

John
Wesley,
1703-1790

**John Wesley**

From painting by Jackson

marshaled forces to resist the outbreak of mad savagery and keep it checked? Could any man have done so? That the good Lafayette could not, signifies little. Nothing that he had learned in his American revolutionary experience, or that came from his intimacy with Washington, or from the dictates of his own warm heart and plain, honest mind, could make him capable of dealing with the fierce commotions in France. His policy and methods were not robust and bold enough to suit the temper of Mirabeau, and coöperation

In literature, Germany, having attained her golden age at last,

demands the uppermost seat of honor for Goethe, the master-singer of recent centuries, as undeniably as Shakespeare is that of the renaissance or Dante of mediæval times. With Goethe she seats Lessing and Schiller, and brings Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Richter, to well-deserved places in our list. The company is small, for Germanic genius does not shine in the art of expression by tongue and pen as supremely as it does in music and in philosophic thought. With Bach, Handel, Mozart, Haydn, it began, in the eighteenth century, a veritable revelation of the sublimities of musical art.

For France, likewise, the golden age in *belles lettres* was reached. Corneille and Racine created for French tragedy its classic models,

and pledged it to the classic mould. Molière, on the other hand, gave a life, a freedom, a modernness to comedy that it never had before. Pascal perfected French prose in controversial writing, Fénelon, Bossuet and Bourdaloue in pulpit oratory, Madame de Sévigné in epistolary writing, Le Sage in fiction, Voltaire in free thinking and satirical wit, which employed every literary form that a genius of extraordinary versatility could bend to its use, and Rousseau in sentimental discourse. The influence of Rousseau on his age was very great. More than any other man he broke down the all-per-



Voltaire

From painting by Houdon

vading artificialities which many influences in the eighteenth century had combined to make a habit or a fashion in the European



**Johann
Wolfgang
von Goethe,**
1749-1832

Goethe

From painting of "Goethe at 80."

Gotthold
Ephraim
Lessing,
1729-1781

Friedrich
von Schiller,
1759-1805

Wolfgang
Amadeus
Mozart,
1756-1791

Pierre
Corneille,
1606-1684

Jean
Baptiste
Racine,
1639-1699

JeanBaptiste
Poquelin
(Molière),
1622-1673

Jean Jacques
Rousseau,
1712-1778

François
Mario
Arouet
(Voltaire),
1694-1778

world, and began an opening of the way for more natural impulses of feeling to come into literature and into life itself.

Greatly as the literature of other countries had advanced, the pre-eminence of England was still maintained. She added Milton to the small group of the supreme poets of all time. Then the freedom and spontaneity that are natural to the imaginative workings of the

English mind were lost for a generation or two, and its poetry was cast in the stiffened moulds of Dryden and Pope, to suit the general fashion of a conventionalized age; but, still, it represented the perfection of its kind. At the same time, its matchless resources and powers of expression were illustrated in wonderful varieties of prose: in the quaint, delightful phrasing of Fuller and Walton and Sir Thomas Browne; in the rich eloquence of Jeremy Taylor; in the great epic-allegory of Bunyan, which stands unique and incomparable in all literature; in Swift's master-



Milton

From engraving by Vertue

pieces of satire, which have likewise an unrivaled quality of their own; in the realistic simplicity of the narratives of Defoe; in the exquisite cut and polish of the essays that came from Addison and his school.

Late in the epoch we are reviewing, English poetry began to escape from the French influences that had stiffened it, and to recover its natural free spirit. Gray, Goldsmith and Cowper, when they came, were still fettered by the metrical forms of the past generation, but a new inspiration was heralded in the tone of their verse. The note of full freedom was sounded a little later by Burns, the wonderful Scotch peasant, who sang songs that were prophetic of sweeter melodies, warmer feeling, truer messages, in the future poetry of the British isles.

Meantime, by a singular contradiction, English prose was assuming a more formal stateliness, well suited to the splendid eloquence of Burke and the grand march of Gibbon's narrative in his great history of the last centuries of imperial Rome, but incongruous in the

John
Milton,
1608-1674
John
Dryden,
1631-1700

Alexander
Pope,
1688-1744

John
Bunyan,
1628-1688

Jonathan
Swift,
1667-1745

Joseph
Addison,
1672-1719

Oliver
Goldsmith,
1728-1774

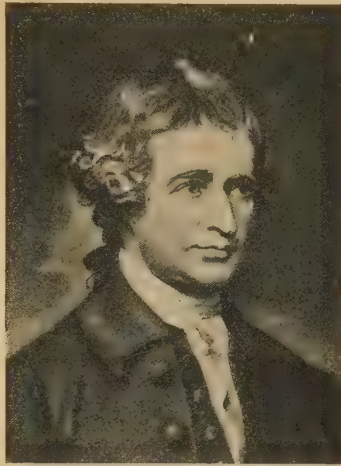
Robert
Burns,
1759-1796

Edward
Gibbon,
1737-1794



MILTON DICTATING PARADISE LOST

less distinguished writing of the day. It was a style that may, in some degree, have been imposed upon his generation by the oracular Dr. Johnson, whose literary dictatorship is a queer phenomenon of the time. Johnson represents the decadence of the Pope-Addison age in letters, — a belated survival of their worn-out moulds; his prose was an attempt to fit a pedantic and heavy vocabulary to the nice Addisonian artifices of style. As a contributor to English literature his importance is not great; as a character in the literary history of England there are few so interesting, partly because no other has been pictured in biog-



Edmund
Burke,
1729-1797

Burke

From painting by Romney

raphy so exactly and so amply to the life.

Samuel
Johnson,
1709-1784

It was now that prose fiction began to take, from Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, Sterne and Goldsmith, in England, and from Goethe, in Germany, the more complex and dramatic character which Defoe and Le Sage had foreshadowed, and which came to perfection in the novel of the nineteenth century.

Henry
Fielding,
1707-1754

Alain René
Le Sage,
1668-1747

In the literature of pure thought, the lead of British writers is marked hardly less than in other fields. While the questionings of modern philosophy may be said to have been started by Descartes, in France,

René
Descartes,
1596-1650



Kant

From painting by Schnorr

and while its skeptic profundities were sounded by the Jewish Hol-
lander, Spinoza, nevertheless, Locke's great study of the human

John
Locke,
1632-1704

George
Berkeley,
1685-1753

David
Hume,
1711-1776

Immanuel
Kant,
1724-1804

Adam
Smith,
1723-1790

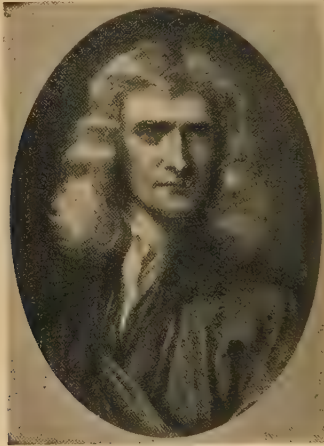
understanding, Berkeley's conception of a universe existing solely in the ideas of the creating mind, and Hume's destructive criticism of all knowledge, were the sources of most powerful influence on subsequent philosophical thought, leading up, as they did, to the transcendental revelations of Kant. Reid and Stewart, in Scotland, introduced in philosophy what the former described as "the principle of common sense."

In more practical regions of thought, the work of chief importance that came to print in the eighteenth century was, undoubtedly, Adam

Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the first profoundly systematic investigation of the principles that apply to the economic conditions of society in a civilized state. Montesquieu's study of political institutions, in his *L'Esprit des Lois*, comes near, perhaps, to equal rank.

But nothing else of intellectual achievement puts a mark of such distinction on the later years of this epoch as that given to them by the labors in science and invention, which opened new realms of knowledge, and began the conquest of great forces in nature, to make them servants of mankind.

Newton, at an earlier day, had



Newton

From painting by Kneller

Isaac
Newton,
1642-1727

Gottfried
Wilhelm
Leibnitz,
1646-1716

William
Harvey,
1578-1656

Antoine
Lavoisier,
1743-1794

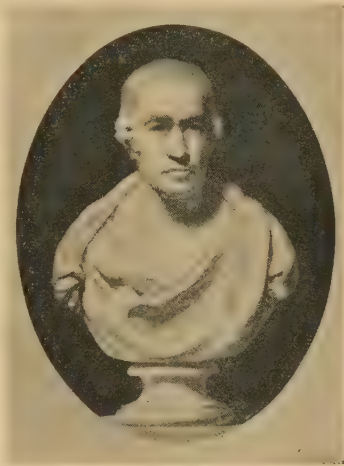
touched a summit of discovery that is almost the highest ever reached, determining the paramount law which unifies our whole conception of the material universe. Newton and Leibnitz, independently, had contrived the subtle formulas of the differential and integral calculus, for mathematical work. Huygens had detected the secret of light, as a phenomenon of undulatory motion. Harvey had demonstrated the circulation of the blood. But these were all expansions of knowledge in regions that had been opened before. It was in the last half of the eighteenth century that new realms were fairly entered and their exploration begun. It was then that chemical study was turned from vague rambling into definite and scientific lines, by Priestley, who discovered oxygen, by Lavoisier, who traced its agency in chemical combinations, by Cavendish, who determined

the gaseous composition of water, and by many of less note. It was then that the first glimpses of the great mystery of electric force were caught, by Franklin, who drew it from a thundercloud; by Galvani, who found it flowing from the contact of two metals into the sensitive muscles of a frog, and by Volta, who developed that discovery into a chemical generation of electricity by the voltaic pile. It was then that Jenner, by observations and experiments that led to vaccination, as a defense against smallpox, unlatched a door of mystery which science in our day is swinging wide, to reveal the dread secrets of infectious and contagious disease. It was then that Linnæus introduced a new epoch in the study of living nature, and that Hutton and Werner established the science of geology, by systematic explorations of the structure of the earth.

It was then, too, that a revolution in the material conditions of civilized life, farther reaching and more prodigious in effect than any other that has happened to mankind, was opened by the invention of the steam engine of James Watt. Ingenious brains were just beginning then to be employed very busily in the contrivance of mechanical substitutes for human hands in labor. Hargreaves and Arkwright had invented machinery for spinning; Cartwright was about to construct a power loom. Watt caught and harnessed the natural force needed for utilizing such lifeless slaves, thus stimulating invention to produce them, more and more, for every task of man, and so changing all the methods of the work of the world.

Luigi
Galvani,
1737-1798

Edward
Jenner,
1749-1823



James Watt,
1736-1819

Watt

From bust by Chantrey

Carl von
Linne
(Linnæus),
1707-1778

James
Hargreaves
died, 1778

Richard
Arkwright,
1732-1792

CHAPTER XVI

FROM THE ASSASSINATION OF HENRY IV., OF FRANCE, TO THE DEATH OF CROMWELL

(1610 TO 1658)

England and Scotland: Union of the crowns under the Stuarts.—Offensiveness of James I. to English feeling.—Weakening of loyalty.—Charles I.—His falsity of nature.—His attempts at absolutism.—The Long Parliament and its work.—Civil war.—Rise of Cromwell.—Defeat, trial, and execution of the king.—The Commonwealth.—The Protectorate of Cromwell.—Restoration of the Stuart monarchy. *France:* Aggrandizement under Richelieu.—Ministry of Mazarin.—The Fronde. *Germany:* The Thirty Years War.—Wallenstein.—Gustavus Adolphus.—Destructiveness and results of the war. *The Dutch Netherlands:* Acknowledgment of their independence.—Barneveld and Prince Maurice.—Domination of Holland.—The Dutch maritime career. *Russia:* Ivan the Terrible. *Poland:* The “*liberum veto*.” *The Turks:* Waning of the crescent. *China:* The Manchu conquest. *Japan:* The period of isolation. *America:* Overthrow of the London Company in Virginia.—Founding of Maryland.—Colonizing of New England.—Plymouth.—Massachusetts Bay.—Connecticut.—Rhode Island.—New Haven.—Independent spirit in New England.—Cavaliers in Virginia.—Troubles in Maryland.—The English in the West Indies.—Dutch and French settlements.

Growth of
absolutism
in the late
epoch

Reaction
against it

As the feudal organization of society in Europe underwent dissolution, we have seen how the power that slipped from aristocracies ran easily and inevitably to the kings, because the people at large were not yet prepared to claim and acquire their share. Consequently, the time of the daybreak of our freer and larger modern life,—the time of the renaissance, so called,—when other energies of the human spirit were quickened into new activity, was precisely the time of lowest political vitality in the civilized world. Everywhere monarchy grew absolute, and nations were submissive to it, as they had not been before. If this came naturally, in the process of transition from feudal to modern social conditions, so, too, did the reaction against it, of which we now approach the beginnings. Starting

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in England, and attaining their terrible climax in France, the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seem to put on that epoch the deepest and most significant of many important marks.

England under the early Stuarts, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate.

Revolution in England might possibly have been postponed for many years if the English crown had passed to an English heir when Queen Elizabeth died. But the heir who received it was the king of Scotland, son of the unhappy Mary Stuart, and the crowns of the two British kingdoms were thus united on one head. In England he was James I., in Scotland James VI. His character combined shrewdness in some directions with the most foolish simplicity in others. He was not vicious, he was not in any particular a bad man; but he was exasperating in his opinionated self-conceit, and in his gaucheries of body and mind. The Englishmen of those days did not love the Scots; and, all things considered, we may wonder, perhaps, that James got on with his English subjects as well as he did. He had high notions of kingship, and a superlative opinion of his own kingcraft, as he termed the art of government. He scarcely deviated from the arbitrary lines which Elizabeth had laid down, though he had nothing of Elizabeth's popularity. He offended the nation by truckling to its old enemy, the king of Spain, and pressing almost shamefully for a marriage of his elder son to the infanta of Spain. He lavished honors and gifts upon favorites who were insolent, worthless and corrupt. He treated the growing Puritanism in English religious feeling with contempt. There was scarcely a point on which any considerable number of his subjects could feel in agreement with him, or regard him with a cordial sentiment of loyalty or respect. Yet his reign of twenty-two years was disturbed by nothing more serious than the fatuous conspiracy of a few aggrieved Catholics, which is known as "the gunpowder plot." But he had undermined English loyalty,—fatally shaken the popular reverence for crowned heads,—and serious consequences fell on the head of his son.

As we have seen, the effective beginnings of English

James I.,
1603-1625

Gardiner,
*History of
England,*
1603-1642,
v. 1-5, and
*The First
Two
Stuarts and
the Puritan
Revolution,*
ch. i-iii

His offen-
siveness to
English
feeling

Weakening
of loyalty

Puritans and
Independ-
ents

Exodus of
Independ-
ents to
Holland,
1607

Treatment
of Ireland

colonization in America were made in this reign, of James I. That in Virginia has been touched upon. The second movement, which planted the Pilgrim settlement in Cape Cod Bay, had its origin in the hostility of King James to all dissent from the established church. His threat to the Puritans, when he came first to England, that he would make them conform themselves to the church or "harry them out of the land," drove many to that entire departure from the established church which the Separatists or Independents made. The Puritans, so called, were not seceders from the church, but faithful members who desired to simplify, or "purify," its rites. The Independents went farther, into rebellion against any church establishment, denying the right of civil governments to deal with matters of religion, and claiming that each Christian congregation should rule itself. Both Puritans and Independents arose in the reign of Elizabeth; but the latter were persecuted with extreme severity, even to death, and the growth of their sect was checked. King James's proceedings revived it. Among the Puritans who then became Independents were some at Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, who organized a congregation in 1606, and were so harassed, at once, by officers of the law, that most of them emigrated to Holland the next year. Settling finally at Leyden, in 1609, they remained there eleven years, at the end of which time they had made arrangements for a home in America, where they hoped to be as undisturbed in worship as Holland had allowed them to be.

The years of early English colonization in America witnessed the first of two extensive undertakings to plant large bodies of Protestant settlers in Ireland. The English conquest of that unhappy island, begun in the twelfth century by Henry II., had not been made complete until the last years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Her father, Henry VIII., had nearly finished the subjugation, and had been the first of the English sovereigns to assume the title of King of Ireland; but he had sowed the seeds of a lasting hatred of England, and made passionate Roman Catholics of the whole Irish population, whether Celtic or Norman, by roughly forcing on the country his

reconstructed church. His senseless policy of dictatorial force, with no slightest attempt even to make the service of the English church understandable to Irish ears, was pursued by Elizabeth, and by her successor, the Scottish James. At the same time there were arbitrary measures adopted for breaking up the Irish clans, making mere landlords of the chiefs. In itself, this seems to have been a good thing to do for the people, but it was done, as the English did everything in Ireland, in exasperating ways. Rebellious plottings followed, or so it was charged, and two accused earls, of Tyrconnell and Tyrone, fled to Spain. Six counties in Ulster were then confiscated, most of the native population removed, and large numbers of Scotch and English settlers brought into their place.

Plantation
of Ulster

King James died in 1625, and the troubled reign of his son, Charles I., began. Charles took over from his father a full measure of popular discontent, along with many agencies that worked actively to increase it. The most productive of these was Buckingham, the favorite, who continued to be the sole counselor and minister of the young king, as he had been of the older one, and who was utterly hateful to England, for good reasons of insolence, incapacity and worthlessness. In the king himself, though he had virtues, there was a coldness and a falsity of nature that were sure to widen the breach between his people and himself.

Charles I.,
1625-1649
Gardiner,
*History of
England,*
1603-1642,
v. 6-10; and
*The First
Two
Stuarts, etc.*
ch. iii-vii

Buckingham

Failing the Spanish marriage, Charles had wedded a French princess, Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII. The previous subserviency to Spain had then been followed by a war with that country, which came to Charles among his inheritances, and which Buckingham mismanaged, until England was shamed. In 1627 another war began, but this time with France, on account of the Huguenots besieged at La Rochelle. Again the meddlesome hand of Buckingham wrought disaster and national disgrace. When parliament endeavored to call the incapable minister to account, and to obtain some security for a better management of affairs, it was dissolved by the king. This was done twice, and Charles and his favorite employed every arbitrary and questionable device that could be contrived for them, to raise money without need

1624

Wars with
Spain and
France,
1625-1632

King and
parliament

of the representatives of the people. At length, in 1628, they were driven to face a third parliament, in order to obtain supplies.

The Petition
of Right,
1628

By this time the commons of England were wrought up to a high and determined assertion of their rights, as against the crown, and the Puritans had gained a majority in the popular representation. In the lower house of parliament, therefore, the demands of the king for money were met by a counter-demand for guarantees to protect the people in their constitutional rights. The commons were resolute, and Charles gave way to them, signing with much reluctance the famous instrument known as the "Petition of Right," which pledged the crown to abstain in future from forced loans, from taxes imposed without parliamentary grant, from arbitrary imprisonments, without cause shown, and from other despotic acts. In return for his signature to the Petition of Right, Charles received a grant of money; but the commons refused to authorize his collection of certain customs duties, called tonnage and poundage, beyond a single year, and it began attacks on Buckingham,—whereupon the session was prorogued.

Assassina-
tion of
Buckingham
1628

Soon after this occurred, Buckingham was assassinated; a second expedition to relieve Rochelle failed miserably; and, early in 1629, parliament was assembled again. This time the Puritan temper of the house of commons began to show itself in measures to put a stop to certain revivals of ancient ceremony in the church. At the same time, officers of the king who had seized goods belonging to a member of the house, for non-payment of tonnage and poundage, were summoned to the bar to answer for the act. The king protected them, and a conflict of authority arose. On the 2d of March, the king sent an order to the speaker of the house of commons for adjournment; but the speaker was held by force in his chair, and not permitted to announce the adjournment, until three resolutions had been read and adopted, denouncing as an enemy to the kingdom every person who brought in innovations in religion, or who advised the levying of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary grant, or who voluntarily paid duties levied in that unlawful mode. This done, the members dispersed; the

Resolutions
of parlia-
ment

king dissolved parliament immediately, and his resolution was taken to govern England thenceforth on his own authority, with no assembly of the representatives of the people to question or criticise his acts. He held to that determination for eleven years, during which long time no parliament sat in England, and the constitution was annulled.

Eleven years
without a
parliament,
1629-1640

The leaders of the commons in their recent proceedings were arrested and imprisoned. Sir John Eliot, the foremost among them, died in harsh confinement within the Tower, and others were held in long custody, refusing to recognize the jurisdiction of the king's judges over things done in parliament.

Sir John
Eliot

It was in this period that the second movement of emigration to New England occurred, many Puritans despairing of success in their struggles against the tyranny of the king, and seeking religious peace in America, as the Independents had done. The first step in the movement was taken in 1628 by John Endicott and five associates, who procured a grant from what had been originally the Plymouth branch of the old Virginia Company, but which was rechartered in 1620, and known commonly thereafter as the Council for New England. This grant conveyed territory from three miles north of the Merrimac River to three miles south of the Charles, on the New England coast, and stretching westward from sea to sea. Endicott, with sixty fellow colonists, took possession of the grant in 1629, joining a small settlement already made at Salem (called Naumkeag previously); but the important migration occurred in the next year, when Endicott's company was broadened into a large, strong and wealthy corporation, under the name of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," with an important charter from the king. The subsequent movement, and the rise of the great colony created by it, will be described later on.

The first
Puritan
exodus,
1629-1630

Endicott's
colony at
Salem

In England, one man, of great ability, who had stood at the beginning with Sir John Eliot, and acted with the party which opposed the king, now went over to the side of the latter and rose high in royal favor, until he came in the end to be held chiefly responsible for the absolutism

Wentworth,
earl of
Strafford

Archbishop
Laud

to which the government of Charles was pushed. This was Sir Thomas Wentworth, made earl of Strafford at a later day. William Laud, bishop of London, and afterward archbishop of Canterbury, was another evil counselor of the king. It was Laud's part to organize the system of despotic monarchy on its ecclesiastical side; to uproot Puritanism and all dissent, and to cast religion for England and for Scotland in one mould, as rigid as that of Rome.

Years of
submissiveness
in
England

For some years, the English nation seemed terrorized or stupefied by the audacity of the complete overthrow of its constitution. The king and his servants might easily imagine that the day of troublesome parliaments and of inconvenient laws was passed. At least, in those early years of their success, it can hardly have occurred to their minds that a time of accounting for broken laws, and for the violated pledges of the Petition of Right, might come at the end. At all events, they went their way with seeming satisfaction, and tested, year by year, the patient endurance of a people which has always been slow to move. Their courts of Star Chamber and of High Commission, finding a paramount law in the will and pleasure of the king, imprisoned, fined, pilloried, flogged and mutilated, in the spirit of the Spanish Inquisition, though they did not burn. They collected tonnage and poundage without parliamentary consent, and servile judges enforced the payment. They invented a claim for "ship-money" (in commutation of an ancient claim for ships to serve in the king's navy) from inland towns and counties, as well as from commercial ports; and when John Hampden, a squire in Buckinghamshire, refused payment of the unlawful tax, their obedient judges gave judgment against him. And still the people endured; but they were laying up these matters in memory, and gathering a store of reasons for the action that would by and by begin.

Ship money

John
Hampden

Rebellion in
Scotland,
1637-1640

At last, it was Scotland, not England, that moved to rebel. Laud and the king had determined to break down presbyterianism in the northern kingdom and to force a prayer book on the Scottish church. There was a consequent riot at St. Giles, in Edinburgh; Jenny Geddes

threw her stool at the bishop, and Scotland presently was in revolt, signing a national covenant and defying the king. Charles, attempting to frighten the resolute Scots with an army which he could not pay, was driven to a treaty with them, which he had not honesty enough to keep. Wentworth, who had been lord deputy of Ireland since 1632, and who had framed a model of absolutism in that island, for the admiration of his colleagues in England, now returned to the king's side and became his counselor-in-chief. He advised the calling of a parliament, as the only means for restoring royal authority in Scotland, with English help. The parliament was summoned, and met in April, 1640. At once, it showed a temper which alarmed the king and he dissolved it in three weeks. Again Charles made the attempt to put down his Scottish subjects without aid from an English parliament, and again the attempt failed.

The "Short
Parliament"

Then the desperate king summoned another parliament, which concentrated in itself, when it came together, the suppressed rebellion that had been in the heart of England for ten years, and which broke his flimsy fabric of absolutism, almost at a single blow. It was the famous Long Parliament of English history, which met in November, 1640, and which ruled England for a dozen years. It sent Laud and Strafford to the Tower, impeached the latter and brought him to the block, within six months from the beginning of its session; and the king gave up his minister to the vengeance of the angry commons with hardly one honest attempt to save his life. Laud waited in prison five years before he suffered the same fate. The parliament declared itself to be indissoluble by any royal command; and the king assented. It abolished the Star Chamber and the court of High Commission; and the king approved. It swept ship-money, and forest claims, and all of Charles's lawless money-getting devices into the limbo; and he put his signature to its bills. But all the time he was intriguing with the Scots for armed help, to overthrow his masterful English parliament, and he was listening to Irish emissaries, who offered, on conditions, to raise an army for his support.

Meeting of
the "Long
Parliament," 1640

Fate of
Strafford
and Laud

Work of the
parliament

Intrigues of
the king

Charles had arranged nothing on either of these

Attempt to
seize the five
members,
1642

Cavaliers
and
Roundheads

Civil war

Gardiner,
*History of
the Great
Civil War*,
3 v.

Death of
Hampden

Death of
Lord
Falkland

Oliver
Cromwell

treacherous plans, nor had he gained anything yet from the division, between radicals and moderates, that showed itself in the popular party, when he brought the strained situation to a sudden crisis, in January, 1642, by his most foolish and arrogant act. He invaded the house of commons in person, with a large body of armed men, for the purpose of arresting five members—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Hazlerigg and Strode—whom he accused of having negotiated treasonably, in 1640, with the Scots. The five members escaped; the house appealed to the citizens of London for protection; king and parliament began immediately to raise troops; the nation divided and arrayed itself on the two sides,—most of the gentry, the Cavaliers, supporting the king, and most of the Puritan middle-class, wearing close-cut hair and receiving the name Roundheads, being ranged in the party of parliament. They came to blows in October, when the first battle was fought, at Edgehill.

After an indecisive battle at Edgehill, the king established his headquarters at Oxford, threatening London, and no engagements of any magnitude occurred for nearly a year. A mere skirmish at Chalgrove Field, near Oxford, in June, 1643, was the most serious, because it cost the life of John Hampden, who left a remarkable impression of greatness in ability and character on the minds of both friends and foes, and who had been looked to with more confident expectation than any other among the leaders of the popular cause. Three months later, in the second of the pitched battles of the war, fought at Newbury, a sad loss was suffered by the royalist party, in the death of the noble Lord Falkland. Hampden and Falkland are two names linked always together, as representative of high and pure patriotism on opposing sides.

In the early period of the war, the parliamentary forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; and Sir Thomas Fairfax was their general at a later stage; but the true leader on that side, for war and for politics alike, was found in Oliver Cromwell, a member of parliament, whose extraordinary capacity was shown first in the military organization of the eastern counties, from which he came. In a great battle fought at Marston Moor, near York,

where he was pitted against Prince Rupert, the brilliant nephew of the king, his consummate generalship was proved. After 1645, when the army was remodeled, with Cromwell as second in rank, his real chieftainship was scarcely disguised. The decisive battle of the war was fought that year at Naseby, where the king's cause suffered an irrecoverable defeat.

Battle of
Marston
Moor, July
2, 1644

Battle of
Naseby,
June 14, 1645

The Presbyterians of Scotland had now allied themselves with the English Roundheads, on condition that the church of England should be remodeled in the presbyterian form. The Puritan majority in parliament being favorable to that form, a "solemn league and covenant" between the two nations had been entered into, in 1643, and an assembly of divines was convened at Westminster to frame the contemplated system of the church. But the Independents, who disliked presbyterianism, and who were more tolerantly inclined in their views, had greatly increased in numbers, and some of the stronger men on the parliament side, including Cromwell, the strongest of all, were among them. This difference brought about a sharp struggle within the popular party, for the control of the fruits of the triumph now beginning to seem secure. Under Cromwell, the army became a powerful organization of religious independency, while parliament sustained presbyterianism, and the two stood against each other as rival powers in the state.

The
Solemn
League and
Covenant,
1643

Parliament
and army

At the beginning of the year 1646 the fortunes of Charles had fallen very low. His partisan in Scotland, the marquis Montrose, had been beaten; his intrigues in Ireland, for the raising of a Catholic army, had only alarmed and disgusted his English friends; he was at the end of his resources, and he gave himself up to the Scots. The latter, in conjunction with the presbyterian majority in parliament, were willing to make terms with him, and restore him to his throne, on conditions which included the signing of the covenant and the establishing of presbyterianism in the churches of both kingdoms. He refused the proposal, being deluded by a belief that the quarrel of Independents and Presbyterians would open his way to the recovery of power, without any concessions at all. The Scots then surrendered him to the English, and he

Surrender of
the king to
the Scots,
1646

King
Charles in
the hands of
the English

was held in confinement by the latter for the next two years, scheming and pursuing intrigues in many directions, and convincing all who dealt with him that his purposes were never straightforward—that he was faithless and false to the core.

Parliament
purged by
the army,
Dec., 1648

Ill-will and suspicion, meanwhile, were widening the breach between parliament and the army. Political and religious agitators were gaining influence in the latter, and republican ideas were spreading fast. At length the army took matters into its own hands, expelling from parliament those members who favored a reconciliation with the king, on the basis of a presbyterian establishment of the church. England passed then under military rule. The "purged" parliament (or rather the purged house of commons, which now set the house of lords aside, declaring itself to be the sole and supreme power in the state) brought King Charles to trial in the following month, before a high court of justice created for the occasion. He was convicted of treason, in making war upon his subjects, and was beheaded on the 30th of January, 1649.

Trial and
execution of
the king,
1649

The
Common-
wealth of
England,
1649-1653
Gardiner,
*History of
the Com-
monwealth
and
Protector-
ate*, 3 v.

The king being disposed of, the house of commons proclaimed England a commonwealth, "without a king or house of lords," took to itself the name of parliament, and appointed forty-one members to constitute an executive council of state. The new government, in its first year, had a rebellion in Ireland to deal with, and sent Cromwell to the scene. He crushed it with a merciless hand, and became responsible, chiefly, for a barbarous measure, known as the Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland, which was carried into effect during the next few years. This repeated, with more cruelty, what was done in the so-called "Plantation of Ulster." All the Irish landowners in three fourths of the island were ordered to vacate their estates before a given day, and remove to the district of Connaught, where they might settle on small allotments of land, while English colonists took possession of the properties they had left. The monstrous ejectment was never carried out completely, but far enough to cause unmeasured suffering and undying hate.

The
Cromwellian
Settlement
of Ireland

In 1650 Scotland was in arms, for the late king's son, now called Charles II., who had entered the country,



accepted presbyterianism, and signed the covenant. Again Cromwell was the man for the occasion, and in two battles, at Dunbar, in Scotland, September 3, 1651, and at Worcester, England, September 3, 1652, he ended the Scottish war, with such decision that he had no more fighting to do on English or Scottish soil while he lived. There was war with the Dutch in 1652, 1653 and 1654, over questions of trade, and the long roll of English naval victories was opened by the great soldier-seaman, Robert Blake.

Cromwell's
campaign in
Scotland,
1650-1652

But the power which upheld and carried forward all things at this time was the power of Oliver Cromwell, master of the army, and, therefore, master of the commonwealth. The surviving fragment of the Long Parliament was an anomaly, a fiction; men called it "the Rump." In April, 1653, Cromwell drove the members of it from their chamber and formally took to himself the reins of government, which, in fact, he had been holding before. A few months later he received from his immediate supporters the title of lord protector, and an "instrument of government" was framed, which served as a constitution during the next three years.

Cromwell,
lord
protector of
England,
1653-1658
Harrison,
*Oliver
Cromwell*

Cromwell was as unwilling as Charles had been to share the government with a freely elected and representative parliament. The first house which he called together was dissolved at the end of five months, because it persisted in discussing a revision of the constitution. His second parliament, which he summoned the following year, required to be purged by the arbitrary exclusion of about a hundred members before it could be brought to due submission. This tractable body then made certain important changes in the constitution, by an enactment called the "Humble Petition and Advice." It created a second house, to take the place of the house of lords, and gave to the lord protector the naming of persons to be life members of that upper house. It also gave to the protector the right of appointing his own successor, a right which Cromwell exercised on his deathbed, by designating his son Richard.

His
supremacy

The
"Humble
Petition and
Advice"

The responsible rule of Cromwell, after the expulsion of the Rump and his assumption of the dignity of lord

Cromwell's
government

protector, covered only the period of five years. But in that brief time he made the world respect the power of England as it had never been respected before. His government at home was as absolute and arbitrary as the government of the Stuarts, but it was infinitely wiser and more just.

His death,
1658

Cromwell died on the 3d of September, 1658,—the anniversary day of his last two victories, at Dunbar and Worcester.

Restoration
of the
Stuart
monarchy,
1660

Richard Cromwell was brushed aside after eight months of an absurd attempt to play the part of lord protector. The officers of the army and the resuscitated Rump parliament, between them, managed affairs, in a fashion, for almost a year, and then they, too, were pushed out of the way by the army which had been stationed in Scotland, under General George Monk. By the action of Monk, with the consent, and with more than the consent, of England at large, the Stuart monarchy was restored. Charles II. was invited to return, and in May, 1660, he took his seat on the reërected throne.

France under Richelieu and Mazarin, 1624-1661.

Louis XIII.,
1610-1643

France, in these years, had been submitting itself to the royal absolutism which England was resisting in arms. For some time in that country, after the death of Henry IV., chaos had seemed likely to return. His son, Louis XIII., was but nine years old. The mother, Marie de' Medici, who secured the regency, was a foolish woman, ruled by Italian favorites, who made themselves odious to the French. As soon as the young king approached manhood, he put himself in opposition to his mother and her favorites, under the influence of a set of rivals no more worthy, and France was carried to the verge of civil war. Happily, there was something in the weak character of Louis XIII. which bent him under the influence of a really great mind, when circumstances brought him within its reach.

Cardinal
Richelieu,
1624-1642

Cardinal Richelieu entered the royal council in 1624. The king was soon an instrument in his hands, and he ruled France, as though the scepter was his own, for eighteen years. He was as rigorous a despot as ever set

heel on a nation's neck; but the power which he grasped, with what seemed to be a miserly and commonplace greed, was all gathered for the aggrandizement of the monarchy that he served. He believed that the nation needed to have one master, sole and unquestioned in his sovereignty. It is certain that he enjoyed being that one master, while he lived; but his whole ambition is not so explained. He wrought according to his belief for France, and the king, in his eyes, was the embodiment of France. He erected a pedestal on which "the grand monarch" of the next generation posed with theatrical effect.

Perkins,
*France
under
Richelieu
and
Mazarin;*
and
*Richelieu
and the
Growth of
French
Power*

Three things Richelieu did: 1. He enforced the royal authority, with inexorable rigor, against the great families and personages, who had not learned, even under Henry IV., that they were subjects in the absolute sense. 2. He struck the Huguenots, not as a religious sect, but as a political party, and stopped their growth of strength in that character, which had become threatening to the state. 3. He organized hostility in Europe to the overbearing and dangerous Austro-Spanish power, put France at the head of it, and took for her the lion's share of the conquests by which the Hapsburgs were reduced.

What
Richelieu
did

The great cardinal died near the close of the year 1642; and Louis XIII. followed him to the grave in the succeeding May, leaving a son, Louis XIV., not yet five years of age. Until 1661, the kingdom was under the regency of the young king's mother, Anne of Austria, and its government was conducted by Cardinal Mazarin, her minister. Mazarin was an adroit politician, with some statesman-like sagacity, but he lacked the potent spirit by which Richelieu had awed and ruled every circle into which he came, great or small. He had the Thirty Years War to bring to a close, and he managed the difficult business with success, wasting nothing of the effect of the brilliant victories of Condé and Turenne. But the war had been very costly. Mazarin was no better financier than Richelieu had been before him, and the burdens of taxation were greater than wise management would have made them. There was inevitable discontent, and Mazarin, as a foreigner, was inevitably unpopular. With public feeling in this state, the court involved itself in a foolish conflict

Louis XIV.,
1642-1715

Cardinal
Mazarin,
1643-1661

with the parliament of Paris, and presently there was a Paris revolution and a civil war afoot.

Civil wars
of the
Fronde,
1649-1651

It was a strange affair of froth and empty rages—this war of “The Fronde,” as it was called (nobody knows why, for *fronde* signifies nothing but a sling)—having no depth of earnestness in it and no honesty of purpose anywhere visible in its complications. The men and women who sprang to a lead in it—the women more actively and rancorously than the men—were mere actors of parts in a great play of court intrigue, for the performance of which unhappy France had lent its grand stage. There seems to have been never, in any other civil conflict which history describes, so extraordinary a mixture of treason and libertinism, of heartlessness and frivolity, of hot passion and cool selfishness, of political and amorous intrigue. The people who fought most and suffered most are hardly noticeable factors in the contest. The court performers amused themselves with the stratagems and bloody doings of the war, as they might have done with the tricks of a masquerade.

Alliance of
the
Frondeurs
with Spain

It was in keeping with the character of the Frondeurs that they went into alliance, at last, with Spain, and that, even after peace within the nation had been restored, “the Great Condé” remained in the Spanish service and fought against his own countrymen. Mazarin regained control of affairs, and managed them on the whole ably and well. He brought about an alliance with England, under Cromwell, and humbled Spain to the acceptance of a treaty which raised the position of France among the European powers. By this Treaty of the Pyrenees, the northwestern frontier of the kingdom was both strengthened and advanced; Lorraine was shorn of some of its territory and prepared for the absorption that followed after no long time; there were gains made on the side of the Pyrenees; and, finally, Louis XIV. was wedded to the infanta of Spain, with solemn renunciations, for herself and her descendants, of all claims upon the Spanish crown, or upon Flanders, or Burgundy, or Charolais. Not a claim was extinguished, however, by these solemn renunciations; for Louis XIV., who took the absolute government of France into his own hands when Mazarin died, in 1661,

Treaty of the
Pyrenees,
1659

Death of
Mazarin,
1661

was faithless to the pledges given at his marriage, and inflicted measureless sufferings upon Europe, by wars to enforce the claims he had renounced.

Germany and the Thirty Years War

Of all the countries in Europe, Germany was suffering most, in these distracted times. The awfully destructive conflict known as the Thirty Years War, to which circumstances already set forth had been leading up, was opened in 1618. It began in Bohemia. A violation of the Protestant rights guaranteed by the "letter of majesty" provoked a rising under Count Thurn. Two of the king's councilors, with their secretary, were flung from a high window of the royal castle; a provisional government of thirty directors was set up, and the king's authority set aside. The Protestant Union gave prompt support to the Bohemian insurrection and sent Count Mansfield, with 3,000 soldiers, to its aid.

Gardiner,
*The Thirty
Years War*

Beginning of
the war in
Bohemia,
1618

Early in these disturbances, Matthias, the emperor, died. Ferdinand of Styria had made his succession secure in Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, and he received the imperial crown. But the Bohemians repudiated his kingship and offered their crown to Frederick, the elector-palatine, lately married to the princess Elizabeth, daughter of the English king, James I. The elector, persuaded, it is said, by his ambitious young wife, accepted the tempting bauble, and went to Prague to receive it; but he had neither prudence nor energy to justify his bold undertaking. Instead of strengthening himself for his contest with Ferdinand, he began at once to enrage his Lutheran subjects in Bohemia by an arbitrary introduction of Calvinistic doctrines and forms. His reign was so brief that he is known in Bohemian annals as "the winter king." A single battle, won by Count Tilly, in the service of the Catholic League, ended his sovereignty. He lost his electorate as well as his kingdom, and was a wandering fugitive for the remainder of his life. Bohemia was dealt with mercilessly by the victorious Ferdinand. Not only was Protestantism crushed, and Catholicism established as the exclusive religion, but the very life of the country, intellectually and

1619

Ferdinand
vs.
Frederick

Bohemia
crushed

materially, was extinguished; so that Bohemia never again stood related to the civilization of Europe as it had stood before, when Prague was an important center of learning and thought. Austria suffered to a less extent, and its Protestantism was suppressed.

First period
of the war

In this sketch it is unnecessary to follow the details of the frightful Thirty Years War, which began as here described. During the first years it was carried on mainly by the troops of the Catholic League, under Tilly, acting against Protestant forces which had very little coherence or unity, and which were led by Count Mansfield, Christian of Anhalt, and other nobles, in considerable independence of one another. In 1625 the first intervention from outside occurred. Christian IV. of Denmark took up the Protestant cause. As duke of Schleswig-Holstein, he was a prince of the empire, and he joined with other Protestant princes in condemning the deposition of the elector-palatine, whose electorate had been given to the duke of Bavaria. King Christian entered into an alliance with England and Holland, which promised help for reinstating the elector; but the aid given was trifling, and slight successes obtained against Tilly were soon reversed.

Danish
intervention,
1625

Wallenstein
duke of
Friedland,
1625-1634

For the first time during the war, the emperor now brought into the field an army acting in his own name, and not in that of the League. It was done in a singular manner—by contract, so to speak, with a great soldier and wealthy nobleman, the famous Wallenstein. Wallenstein offered to the emperor the services of an army of 50,000 men, which he would raise and equip at his own expense, and which should be maintained by plunder, without public cost. His proposal was accepted, and the formidable body of trained brigands was launched upon Germany, for the torture and destruction of every region in which it moved. It was the last appearance in European warfare of the “condottiere” of the Middle Ages.

Siege of
Stralsund,
1628

Wallenstein and Tilly swept all before them. The former failed only before the stubborn town of Stralsund, which defied his siege. Mansfield and Christian of Anhalt both died in 1627. Peace was forced upon the Danish king. The Protestant cause was prostrate, and the em-

peror despised its weakness so far that he issued an "edict of restitution," commanding the surrender of certain bishoprics and ecclesiastical estates which had fallen into Protestant hands since the treaty of Passau. At the same time, he yielded to the jealousy which Wallenstein's power had excited, by dismissing that commander from his employ.

Edict of
Restitution,
1629

These measures were not well timed, for a new and redoubtable champion of Protestantism had just appeared on the scene and was about to revive the war. This was Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who had ambitions, grievances and religious sympathies, all urging him to rescue the Protestant states of Germany from the Austrian-Catholic despotism that seemed to be impending over them. His interference was resented at first by the greater Protestant princes. The elector of Brandenburg submitted to an alliance with him only when compelled, and the elector of Saxony did not join the Swedish king until Tilly had ravaged his territories with ferocity, and two hundred villages were burned. When Gustavus had made his footing in the country secure, he proved himself the greatest soldier of his age. Tilly was overwhelmed in a battle fought on the Breitenfeld, at Leipsic. The following spring he was beaten again on the Lech, in Bavaria, and died of wounds received in the battle. Meantime, the greater part of Germany was at the feet of the Swedish king. A sincere coöperation between him and the German princes would probably have ended the war; but they were not in harmony, and Richelieu, the shrewd French cardinal, had begun intrigues which made the Thirty Years War profitable to France. The victories of Gustavus seemed to bear small fruit. Wallenstein was summoned once more to save the emperor's cause, and reappeared in the field with 40,000 men. The heroic Swede fought him at Lützen, on the 16th of November, 1632, and routed him, but fell in the fight.

Gustavus
Adolphus,
of Sweden,
1630-1632

His victories

Death of
Gustavus
Adolphus,
1632

The death of Gustavus Adolphus ended the possibility of a satisfactory conclusion of the war. The Swedish army remained in Germany, under the military command of Duke Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar and General Horn, but under the political direction of Axel Oxenstiern, the able

Murder of
Wallenstein,
1634

Swedish chancellor. On the imperial side, Wallenstein again incurred suspicion and distrust. His power was so formidable that his enemies were afraid to let him live, and he was murdered on the 25th of February, 1634. The emperor's son, Ferdinand, now took the command of the imperial forces, and, a few months later, having received reinforcements from Spain, he had the good fortune, at Nördlingen, to defeat the Swedes.

Later years
of the war,
1634-1648

The elector of Saxony, and other Protestant princes, then made peace with the emperor, and the war was prolonged only by the intrigues of Richelieu and for the aggrandizement of France. In this final stage of it, when the original elements of contention, and most of the original contestants, had disappeared, it lasted for yet fourteen years. Ferdinand II. died in 1637, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. Duke Bernhard died in 1639. In the later years of the war, Piccolomini on the imperial side, Baner, Torstenson and Wrangel at the head of the Swedes, and Turenne and Condé in command of the French, were the soldiers who made great names.

Destructive-
ness of the
Thirty
Years War

In 1648, the long suffering of Germany was eased by the Peace of Westphalia. Years of quiet and of tolerable order would be needed to heal the bleeding wounds of the country and revive its strength. From end to end, it had been trampled upon for a generation by armies which plundered and destroyed as they passed. There is nothing more sickening in the annals of war than the descriptions which eyewitnesses have left of the misery, the horror, the desolation of that frightful period in German history. "Especially in the south and west, Germany was a wilderness of ruins; places that were formerly the seats of prosperity were the haunts of wolves and robbers for many a long year. It is estimated that the population was diminished by twenty, by some even by fifty, per cent. The population of Augsburg was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000; of Frankenthal, from 18,000 to 324 inhabitants. In Würtemberg, in 1641, of 400,000 inhabitants, 48,000 remained; in the Palatinate, in 1636, there were 201 peasant farmers; and in 1648, but a fiftieth part of the population remained."

Häusser,
*The Period
of the
Reforma-
tion*, 557

By the treaties of Westphalia, the religious question was settled with finality. Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed (Calvinists) were put on an equal footing of religious liberty. Politically, the effects of the peace were radical and lasting in their injury to the German people. The few bonds of Germanic unity that survived the reign of feudalism were dissolved. The last vestige of authority in the empire was destroyed. "From this time," says Professor Freeman, "Germany long remained a mere lax confederation of petty despotisms and oligarchies with hardly any national feeling. Its boundaries, too, were cut short in various ways. The independence of the two free confederations at the two ends of the empire, those of Switzerland and the United Provinces, which had long been practically cut off from the empire, was now formally acknowledged. And, what was far more important, the two foreign kingdoms which had had the chief share in the war, France and Sweden, obtained possessions within the empire, and, moreover, as guarantors or sureties of the peace, they obtained a general right of meddling in its affairs." "The right of France to the 'three Lotharingian bishoprics,' which had been seized nearly a hundred years before, was now formally acknowledged, and, besides this, the possessions and rights of the house of Austria in Elsass, the German land between the Rhine and the Vosges, called in France Alsace, were given to France. The free city of Strasburg and other places in Elsass still remained independent, but the whole of south Germany now lay open to France. This was the greatest advance that France had yet made at the expense of the empire. Within Germany itself the elector of Brandenburg also received a large increase of territory."

The Peace of
Westphalia,
1648

Political
changes
produced

Alsace given
to France

Freeman,
*General
Sketch of
European
History*, 271

The Dutch Netherlands

Among the treaties which made up the Peace of Westphalia was one signed by Spain, acknowledging the independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and renouncing all claims to them.

Acknowledged inde-
pendence of
the Dutch

Practically, the independence of the United Provinces had been complete for many years, and their naval development had raised them to a rank among the European powers of the age. Prince Maurice, the son of

Prince
Maurice and
John of
Barneveld

Motley,
*Life and
Death of
John of
Barneveld*

Calvinists
and
Arminians

Execution of
Barneveld,
1619

Renewed
war with
Spain

Maritime
career of
the Dutch

William the Silent, who succeeded his murdered father in the stadtholdership in 1584, had carried forward his father's work with success, so far as concerned the liberation of the provinces from the Spanish yoke. He was an abler soldier than William, but not his equal as a statesman, nor as a man. The greater statesman of the period was John of Barneveld, between whom and the stadtholder an opposition grew up which produced jealousy and hostility, more especially on the part of the latter.

A shameful religious conflict had arisen at this time between the Calvinists, who numbered most of the clergy in their ranks, and a dissenting body, led by Jacob Hermann, or Arminius, which protested against the doctrine of predestination. Barneveld favored the Arminians. The stadtholder, Maurice, threw his whole weight of influence on the side of the Calvinists, and was able, with the help of the Calvinist preachers, to carry the greater part of the common people into that faction. The Arminians were everywhere put down as heretics, barred from preaching or teaching, and otherwise silenced and ill treated.

Barneveld lost influence, as the consequence of the Calvinistic triumph, and was exposed to the vindictive hatred of Prince Maurice, who did not scruple to cause his arrest, his trial and execution, on charges which none believed. Maurice, whose memory is blackened by this great crime, died in 1625, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Frederic Henry. The war with Spain had been renewed in 1621, at the end of the twelve years' truce, and more than willingly renewed; for the mercantile and maritime interests preferred war to peace. Under a hostile flag they pushed their commerce into Spanish and Portuguese seas, from which a treaty of peace would exclude them; and, so long as Spanish-American silver fleets were afloat, the spoils of ocean war were rich.

It was during these years of war that the Dutch got their footing on the farther sides of the world, and nearly won the mastery of the sea, which their slower but stronger English rivals wrested from them in the end. Not until the general Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, was a

final settlement of issues between Spain and the United Provinces brought about. The freedom and independence of the provinces, as sovereign states, were then acknowledged by the humbled Spaniard, and favorable arrangements of trade were conceded to them. The southern, Catholic, provinces remained in subjection to Spain.

The Spanish
Netherlands

Frederic Henry, the third stadtholder, was succeeded in 1647 by his son, William II. The latter wasted his short career of less than four years in foolish plotting to revolutionize the government and transform the stadtholdership into a monarchy, supported by France. Dying suddenly in the midst of his scheming, he left an unborn son—the future William III. of England—who came into the world a week after his father had left it. Under these circumstances, the stadtholdership was suspended, with strong feelings against any revival.

Suspension
of the stadtholdership

The lesser provinces then fell under the domination of Holland—so much so that the name of Holland began to be applied to the confederation at large, and was commonly used with that meaning for a long subsequent time. The chief minister of the estates of Holland, known as the grand pensionary, became the practical head of the federal government. After 1653 the office of grand pensionary was filled by a statesman of high ability, John de Witt, the chief end of whose policy appears to have been the prevention of the return of the house of Orange to power.

Domination
of Holland

Russia and Poland

In the east of Europe, the creation of a Russian empire by the princes who began their career as grand dukes of Moscow had now gone far. Ivan IV., surnamed The Terrible, who came to the Muscovite throne in 1533, and who was the first to assume the title of czar, or tzar (derived from "Cæsar"), of Russia, made conquests southward and southeastward, from the Tatars, until his dominion reached the Caspian, stretching northward to the White Sea. Late in the sixteenth century the old line of rulers, descended from the Scandinavian Ruric, came to an end, and, after a few years, Michael Romanoff established the dynasty which has reigned since his time.

Ivan the
Terrible,
1533-1584

As between the two principal Slavonic nations, Russia

Decline of
Poland

Moltke,
*Poland; an
Historical
Sketch*

The Polish
"liberum
veto"

was now gaining stability and weight, while Poland had begun to lose both. It was a fatal day for the Poles when, in 1573, on the death of the last of the Jagellons, they made their monarchy elective, abolishing the previous restriction to one family. The election was by the suffrage of the nobles, not the people at large (who were generally serfs), and the government became an oligarchy of the most unregulated kind. The crown was stripped of power, and the unwillingness of the nobility to submit to any national authority, even that of its own assembly, reached a point, about the middle of the seventeenth century, at which anarchy was agreed upon, virtually, as the desirable political state. The extraordinary "liberum veto," then made part of the Polish constitution, gave to each single member of the assemblies of the nobles, or of the deputies representing them, a right to forbid any enactment, or to arrest the whole proceedings of the body, by his unsupported veto. This amazing prerogative appears to have been exercised very rarely in its fullness; but its theoretical existence extinguished public spirit and paralyzed all rational legislation. Linked with the singular feebleness of the monarchy, it leaves small room for surprise at the ultimate shipwreck of the Polish state.

The Turks.

Suleiman
the
Magnificent,
1520-1566

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571

The Turks, natural enemies of all the Christian races of eastern and southeastern Europe, had come practically to the end of their threatening career of conquest about the middle of the sixteenth century, when Suleiman the Magnificent died. He had occupied a great part of Hungary; seated a pasha in Buda; laid siege to Vienna; taken Rhodes from the Knights of St. John; attacked them in Malta; made an alliance with the king of France; brought a Turkish fleet into the western Mediterranean, and held Europe in positive terror of an Ottoman domination for half a century. His father, Selim, had subjugated Syria and Egypt; his son Selim added Cyprus to the Turkish conquests; but was humbled in the Mediterranean by the great Christian victory of Lepanto, won by the combined fleets of Spain, Venice and the pope, under Don John of Austria,—an illegitimate son of the late

emperor, Charles V. After that time Europe had no great fear of the Turk; though he still fought hard with the Venetians, the Poles, the Russians, the Hungarians, and, once more, carried his arms even to Vienna. But, on the whole, it was a losing fight; the crescent was on the wane.

Waning of
the crescent

Last glories of Venice

In the whole struggle with the Ottomans, through the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the republic of Venice bore a noble part. She contested with them foot by foot the Greek islands, Peloponnesus, and the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Even after her commerce began to slip from her control, and the strength which came from it sank rapidly, she gave up her eastern possessions but slowly, one by one. Crete cost the Turks a war of twenty-four years. Fifteen years afterward the Venetians gathered their energies afresh, assumed the aggressive, and conquered the whole Peloponnesus, which they held for a quarter of a century. Then it was lost again, and only the Ionian Islands remained Venetian territory in the east.

1645-1669

Chinese Empire

The overthrow of the Ming dynasty, the last of the native sovereigns of the Chinese empire, and the seizure of their throne by a Tatar intruder, whose descendants have held it to this day, was partly a revolution and partly a conquest, brought about very strangely, near the middle of the seventeenth century, with the least possible agency on the part of the masses of the Chinese themselves. Mr. Boulger, in his history of China, pauses in the midst of a dreary recital of palace plots, provincial rebellions, wars with Japan and with neighboring Tatars, struggles with powerfully organized banditti, which fill the annals of the last century or two of the Ming emperors, to remark: "It might be more instructive to trace the growth of thought among the masses, or to indicate the progress of civil and political freedom; yet not only do the materials not exist for such a task, but those we possess all tend to show that there has been no growth to describe, no progress to be indicated, during these comparatively recent

The
overthrow of
the Mings

Unchange-
ableness of
China

Boulger,
*History of
China* (rev.
ed.), 1: 472

centuries." This suffices, no doubt, to explain the sudden and lasting transfer of sovereignty to a foreign race.

Li Tseching,
the
rebellious
robber

Fall of the
Mings, 1644

Wou-Sank-
wei

Noorhachu,
died 1626

Taitsong,
died 1643

Founding of
the Manchu
dynasty

That extraordinary revolution was precipitated by a formidable robber chief, Li Tseching, who gathered followers in the province of Shensi, until, in 1640, he was said to command nearly half a million of men. With this army he captured several important cities, defeated the imperial forces sent against him, and, finally, in 1644, entered Peking and claimed the throne. The reigning emperor took his own life, and the triumphant bandit reigned for several months. Meantime, one vigorous Chinese general, Wou-Sankwei, who moved against him, found so little reason to hope that he could face the situation with forces of his own that he invited assistance from external enemies, with whom he had been contending for years. These were the Manchus, originally a Tatar clan which occupied a small district north of the Liaotung peninsula, east of Mukden. In the previous century the chiefs of this clan had extended their authority and increased their strength, until they were able to begin aggressive war with the neighboring Chinese. Under one Noorhachu, and his son, Taitsong, the Manchu power, with its capital established at Mukden, became very threatening to the emperors at Peking, and Wou-Sankwei was holding them in check when the catastrophe at the imperial capital occurred. Between the foreign and the domestic foe he had a desperate choice to make, and one cannot say whether he chose wisely or not. With Manchu help he drove the robber Li Tseching from Peking and ended his career. Then he wished to dismiss his Manchu allies; but when he found that they would not go he accepted the situation, maintained his alliance with them, and assisted in establishing a Manchu emperor on the Chinese throne. There was resistance for forty years, never well organized, never, apparently, commanding any very large part of the national strength. Wou-Sankwei himself became finally rebellious, but without avail. In the end, the millions of the great empire submitted to one of the most remarkable subjugations of which history gives any account.

Japan

In Japan, the conditions established by Ieyasu were so nearly unchanged for two centuries and a half that the history of the island empire, in that long period, has no incidents that call for mention in a sketch like this. Except as the Dutch were allowed a small trading station, on a little island near the port of Nagasaki, all foreigners were excluded, and Japan had no intercourse with the outer world. She engaged in no external wars, and appears to have been troubled by no serious domestic strife. The authority of the shoguns was maintained, though the descendants and successors of Ieyasu, known as the Tokugawa dynasty, sank to degeneracy and effeteness, as the mikados had done, and the powers of their office were exercised by others in their name. The same degeneracy is said to have become equally characteristic, as a rule, of the feudal chieftains, the daimios, who commanded extreme deference, as lordly personages, but who were helplessly dependent on ministers and servants in all they did. Thus everything, almost, in the constitution of Japanese society and government, became nominal—fictitious—contrary in fact to its appearance; and these strangely unnatural conditions were preserved until half a century ago.

Two
centuries
and a half of
isolation

Degeneracy
of shoguns
and daimios

The English in America

If we return now to America, we shall find that great changes have occurred in that quarter since we gave it attention last.

The secret of prosperity for Virginia was detected in the tobacco plant, cultivation of which was begun about 1612. Since the discovery of America, the Old World had been learning the soothing delight of tobacco-smoking very fast. The Indian's pipe had come into fashion, and a growing demand for the weed that burns in it opened markets for all that Virginia could supply. The colony had found better than gold and silver mines, and its settlements spread up and down the peninsula between the James and York rivers so fast that the population was estimated at 4,000 in 1622. Then it suffered an overwhelming catastrophe. The surrounding Indians, alarmed by the rapid encroachment of the whites on their grounds,

Virginia

Fiske,
*Old
Virginia
and her
Neighbours*,
ch. v-vi

Brown,
*The First
Republic in
America*

Indian
rising, 1622

and carelessly disregarded by the latter, struck a sudden blow at the outer plantations, killing 347 men, women and children in a single day. They were punished fiercely when the settlers had time to rally; but the colony was slow in recovering from the hurt it received.

Overthrow
of the
London
Company,
1624

Another misfortune came two years later, when the charter of the London Company was rescinded by the decision of an English court. This seemed serious, for the reason that the control of the company had been won a few years previously by certain men of a broad-minded type, whose measures for the colony were most liberally planned. Under the lead of Sir Edwin Sandys, a gentleman of noble character and fine ability, they determined, in 1618, that the Virginia planters should, as they expressed it, "have a hand in the government of themselves."

The first
American
legislature,
1619

A colonial assembly, the first of American legislatures, was formed accordingly, by the election of two representatives from each of eleven settlements or plantations, who met with a council which the company appointed, and had a voice in all colonial affairs. A little later, this system of colonial government was embodied in a formal ordinance by the company, adopted in July, 1621. At the same time, the generous majority of the company were taking steps to found a "seminary of learning" in Virginia, endowed by the gift of ten thousand acres of land. But the men whose influence carried these liberal measures were among the leaders of the party in England that resisted the arbitrary government of King James, and his hostility to them, served by pliant judges, accomplished the destruction of the London Company, and put its colony under the immediate control of the king. He was planning a new scheme of government for it, in which we may be sure that the colonists themselves would have had no "hand," when he died. His son Charles had too many troubles at home to give much attention to colonial matters. The Virginia assembly was left undisturbed; but the educational projects of Sandys and his colleagues experienced equal neglect, and were unexecuted for nearly seventy years.

Hostility of
King James
to the
London
Company

The year following that which gave Virginia its partly representative assembly gave the colony, also, its first

negro slaves, twenty in number, brought by a Dutch ship, and its first "indentured servants,"—a hundred boys and girls sent out from London to be "bound" or indentured to colonial masters for a term of years. Thereafter, till the end of the seventeenth century, the main supply of labor to the colony was by the system of indentured servitude. The increase of slaves in that period was not large. Indentured servants were received in all the colonies, more or less, England sending some from her criminal and pauper classes, and some who were Irish and Scotch prisoners of war; while others, called "redemptioners," were voluntary emigrants, who bound themselves to service for a term, as a means of paying for their passage to America. In the later workings of the system, considerable numbers of people are said to have been kidnapped and dragged from their homes.

Negro
slaves and
indentured
servants

Redemp-
tioners

Much against its will, the Virginia colony received a neighbor in 1634, planted on what it claimed to be part of its own domain. By an extraordinary patent issued in 1632, King Charles I. conferred on Cecilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, the "prerogatives" and "royal rights and franchises" of actual sovereignty over the region between the Potomac River and the Delaware Bay and River, up to the fortieth parallel of north latitude. This created what was known in the Middle Ages and afterward as a "palatine" lordship, or "palatinate," the term signifying that the king had transferred to its lord some of the functions of sovereignty which the royal occupant of the palace was supposed, ordinarily, to exercise alone; such, namely, as the power to coin money, to grant titles of nobility, to create courts, and the like. The object of Lord Baltimore in procuring this grant was to establish a place of refuge in America for Roman Catholics, who were treated cruelly by English laws. He named his principality Maryland, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I. The first company of settlers, containing both Catholics and Protestants, was sent out in 1634, under the lead of Leonard, a brother of Lord Baltimore, and its home was established at St. Mary's, on the river of that name. Other settlements were soon made, and the Maryland colony had a prosperous growth.

The
founding of
Maryland,
1634

A palatinate

A refuge
for Roman
Catholics

Religious
and political
freedom in
Maryland

Both religious and political freedom were contemplated in the generous plans of its Roman Catholic proprietor; and, while Protestants and Catholics were equally free in their worship, all freemen of the colony sat personally or were represented in an assembly which took part with the governor and his council in the making of laws.

The validity of the Maryland grant, covering part of the territory given formerly to Virginia, was contested by the latter without success, and there were years of angry strife between the two colonies over islands in Chesapeake Bay.

Maryland was not the second of the English colonies planted in America, as the mention of it here, in a natural connection with Virginia, might seem to imply; it was the fourth. Two had been founded in advance of it on the New England coast. Prior to 1620, that coast had been resorted to somewhat by fishermen and fur traders, but no permanent settlements had been made. The indomitable Captain John Smith, provided with an equipment for the purpose by English merchants, had examined the region carefully in 1614, mapped its coast with remarkable accuracy, named it New England, and recommended it highly in an interesting book; but the colonizing of the cold, infertile country was to result from other motives than those of trade, or of fortune-seeking in any mode.

Near the end of the year 1620 the Pilgrim Independents, driven from Scrooby and thereabouts in England twelve years before, came from their first refuge, in Holland, and were landed by the ship *Mayflower* at Plymouth (so named already on Captain Smith's map), in Cape Cod Bay. They were brought to that bay by mistaken reckonings and stress of winds. They had intended to make their settlement in some part of the Virginia territory of the London Company, from which they held a grant; but the voyage had been too perilous and too trying to be prolonged, and they stayed where chance had brought them, suffering such hardships in the first winter that forty-four out of one hundred and two died. In the course of the next year they secured a lease of the ground on which circumstances had planted their

New
England
Palfrey,
*History of
New
England*,
1: ch. ii-xiii
Adams,
*Three
Episodes of
New
England
History*
Captain
John
Smith's
survey and
description,
1614

(See page
170)

The
Mayflower
Pilgrims at
Plymouth,
1620

little colony, paying rent for some years, but securing it by purchase at last. A few more came to join them; but their numbers grew so slowly that they counted no more than three hundred at the end of ten years.

Numerous grants of territory were made by the Council for New England, to companies and individuals, in those ten years, and several attempts at settlement were made in other parts; but nothing of importance was accomplished until 1630, when the great Puritan emigration was begun by the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." Its first party, of eight hundred colonists, sailed from Yarmouth in the spring of that year, and was settled originally on the northern side of Charles River, naming the settlement Charlestown; but it scattered presently, and Boston, on the peninsula called Shawmut, drew the larger part. These pioneers were followed in such numbers and so fast that a score of villages, with nearly three thousand inhabitants, were clustered round the bay within the next four years.

The Puritan
emigration
to Massa-
chusetts
Bay
1630-1634

The charter of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay had been drawn in the interest of the colonists, so skillfully that it gave them opportunities for larger claims of independence than the king, when he signed it, can have dreamed of conferring. The company had illimitable authority to enlarge its membership, and the legislative power of its governor and twelve "assistants" was restricted only by the provision that it make no laws "contrary or repugnant" to English law. No place in which its powers should be exercised was named, and a right to transfer the charter and government from England to New England was assumed. Accordingly, the pioneers of the colony came with their charter, their governor, John Winthrop, and the organized government of a political community that felt itself to be half independent, from the first. Naturally there was a wakening of royalist hostility in England very soon. Archbishop Laud was put at the head of a commission for the superintending of the colonies; the Massachusetts company was commanded to surrender its charter, and proceedings to nullify that instrument were begun in the English courts. But troubles were thickening around the

The Massa-
chusetts
charter

Royalist
hostility to
the colony,
1634

king and his party, which kept them occupied too closely at home for much further attention to colonial affairs, and the Massachusetts charter was not disturbed.

Spirit of the
Massachu-
setts
colonists

The colony went forward in a prosperous career. The high aims of its founders were indicated by the prompt establishment of excellent schools: Boston Latin School in 1635, Harvard College in 1636, and a general common school system for every town, by mandatory law, in 1647. Their narrower spirit appeared in an enactment that "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." They planned the formation of a Christian state that should realize their own religious ideals, and had no doubt of their right to secure it for themselves by excluding all persons holding contrary beliefs from any share in the government of their commonwealth. They had come to America to obtain religious freedom for themselves; not to establish it as a principle of right, for mankind at large. They believed in no such principle, and very few minds in the world had arrived yet at the breadth of religious culture that could open them to that belief; but one great man, Roger Williams, who had attained the needed largeness of soul, arrived at Plymouth in 1631, and came to Salem in 1633.

Religious
exclusive-
ness

Roger
Williams

The former difference between Puritans and Independents disappeared when the former reached New England, where they broke their connection with the established English church and organized their congregations in the Independent mode. For some time, no other religious bodies were allowed to hold services in the colony, hence the restriction of full citizenship to the members of churches within its limits was a restriction to members of Congregational churches alone. Residence in the colony was permitted to others; but they were not "freemen" of the body politic; they had no vote. This limitation of the suffrage was a long-lasting cause of discontent. It was stoutly maintained for more than half a century, with a slight relaxation in 1662.

Congrega-
tionalism

The "union of church and state," implied in the qualifying of political franchises by church membership, appears to have been one of the causes of disagreement which led

to a secession, in 1635, from the colony on Massachusetts Bay. In that year and the next, a considerable party, from Newtown (afterward Cambridge), Watertown and Dorchester, went away to the valley of the Connecticut River, and settled there in Windsor, Wethersfield and Hartford, with unbroken organizations of government in church and town. A commonwealth government was created at once, by an assembly of the magistrates of the three towns, forming a "general court." This was perfected in 1639 by the adoption of what were called the "Fundamental Orders" of government, in a series of decrees which form, in the full sense, a written political constitution, and which, in that full sense, is the first that is known to have been framed as a scheme of self-government by any community of people in the world. Says Fiske: "It was the first written constitution known to history that created a government, and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker [formerly minister of the church at Newtown, who was the leader of the migration to the Connecticut] deserves more than any other man to be called the father." In this Connecticut colony the political franchise was not confined to members of the churches.

Settlements
on the
Connecticut,
1635-1636

"Fundamen-
tal Orders,"
1639

The first
written
constitution
Fiske,
*Beginnings
of New
England*,
127

A second secession from the rigorous rule of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay was caused in 1636 by their expulsion of Roger Williams, the apostle of religious freedom, or "soul liberty," as he described it, who offended the majority of the colony, but pleased a congregation at Salem, by preaching that and other doctrines of broad righteousness, and who could not be curbed. To escape being shipped forcibly to England, Williams fled to the forest, among the Indians, whose friendship he had won and whose language he had learned. Choosing a place at the head of Narragansett Bay, where friends from Salem joined him, he founded there the settlement named Providence, which soon had neighbors to it, planted in and on the same bay.

Expulsion
of Roger
Williams,
1636

These neighboring settlements were made by other bands of exiles from Massachusetts, followers of a remarkable woman, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, who came to Boston in 1634 and caused great excitement by lectures

Anne
Hutchinson
and her
followers

Sir Henry
Vane,
governor,
1637

The
founding of
Rhode
Island

The
Colony of
Providence
Plantations

New Haven
colony, 1638

given to meetings of her own sex. Criticising and condemning the teachings of most of the ministers in the colony, she was accused of upholding doctrines, called "antinomian," which disparaged "works," or conduct, in the lives of those Christians who had spiritual assurance of their "justification by faith." A strong party, of both men and women, supported Mrs. Hutchinson, and it included, in 1637, the governor of that year, Sir Henry Vane. Vane came from England for a short stay in the colony and returned when his term of office expired, to become an important actor there in the impending revolution and civil war. Mrs. Hutchinson's opponents triumphed in the contest concerning her, and she was ordered away from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. With some of her adherents, she went to the island of Aquidneck, in Narragansett Bay, buying it from the Indians and attempting to name it the Isle of Rhodes. That the name became Rhode Island, through the careless, clipping habits of human speech, is no matter of surprise. Two settlements, at Portsmouth and Newport, were founded on the island, and a third on the mainland, at Warwick, all of which were united subsequently with Providence, in the "Colony of Providence Plantations," under a patent which Roger Williams procured in England, in 1644. Other friends of Mrs. Hutchinson who departed from the Massachusetts colony went northward, and made settlements that grew into the towns of Exeter and Dover, New Hampshire.

Still another distinct settlement of importance was made in New England at this time. A company of London Puritans, with their pastor, the Rev. John Davenport, arrived at Boston in 1638, and went on to the Connecticut region, not to join the settlements on the river, but to establish a new one, at the mouth of the Quinnipiac, which they named New Haven. Like those of Massachusetts Bay, the New Haven colonists united church and state in their organization, limiting political rights to church members, and deriving their laws from the Word of God. The colony had a separate political existence for twenty-four years, when it was annexed to Connecticut, without its consent.

There were now in New England four colonies distinctly organized, namely, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, with a fifth group of settlements, on Narragansett Bay, that would soon be united in one colonial state. In 1643 the four entered into a league or loose confederacy, styled The United Colonies of New England, mainly for purposes of common defense. They had had a serious experience of war with the neighboring Indians, in 1637, when the Pequots, punished cruelly for some murders of white traders, retaliated with a ferocity that provoked the extermination of the tribe. Connecticut had borne the brunt of the war. Hereafter such wars were to be undertaken by the commissioners of the united colonies, and at common expense. The union of the colonies was formed in view, not only of hostile Indians, but also of very possible aggressions on the part of the French, who were establishing themselves on the northeastern coast, in what they called Acadia, and who contested more or less of the English claims.

The United
Colonies of
New
England,
1643

Of the four United Colonies, only one, Massachusetts, had instituted its government with authority derived from the English crown. Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven were purely self-constituted republics or commonwealths. The union formed was equally self-constituted, without permission from England sought or given. In this boldly independent political action the New England colonies were taking advantage of the troubled state of the mother country, where the authority of government was shaken and its seat of sovereignty brought in doubt, by the conflict between parliament and king. The circumstances of the time of their birth, inciting them to independent acts, were training them in habits of self-reliant and independent feeling which they never lost.

Independent
spirit in
New
England

These Puritan colonists of New England were strong partisans of parliament in the English conflict, but none the less disposed to keep themselves as free as possible from parliamentary control. English colonial polity hitherto had rested on the theory that exterior possessions, like those in America, formed part of the dominions of the crown, but not as an integral part of the English nation, subject to parliament as well as king. The crown

Attitude
toward the
English
parliament

The question
of the
Massachu-
setts charter

had exercised sole sovereignty over them, without parliamentary legislation; and now, if regal authority was to be extinguished, the colonists, especially in Massachusetts, were not at all ready to have the authority of parliament set over them in its place. Parliament claimed the right to do so, as early as 1643, by creating a commission to superintend colonial affairs; but the commission made little attempt to exercise any power till the end of the civil war. Then, after the fall of the monarchy and the establishment of the republican government of the Commonwealth, Massachusetts received a demand for the surrender of its royal charter, and was ordered to take a new one from the parliamentary commission. It did not refuse obedience to the mandate, nor did it obey. For a year there was no reply to the order; then the answer of the colony was given in the form of a courteous argument to show that no change should be made. The precious royal charter was never given up.

Colonial
money

At the same time, one of the positive attributes of sovereignty was assumed by Massachusetts, in the quietest possible way, by the establishment, in 1652, of a mint for the coining of silver money, to supply a pressing need of colonial trade. All the colonies had been driven to the use of the Indian wampum or peage money, made of shell beads, or to the employment of beaver-skins, tobacco, etc., for a medium of exchange. The want of a better standard and current medium was extremely urgent; but the assumption by the Massachusetts colonists of a right to coin it for themselves is a very significant indication of the independent feeling they had acquired.

Loyalty of
Virginia to
the king

In Virginia the English conflict was regarded with feelings quite opposed to those prevalent in New England. "Our kingdom of Virginia," as Charles I. had styled it, was an extremely loyal part of his majesty's realm. Some Puritans were among its settlers, but the great majority were stanch supporters of church and king. On the eve of the outbreak of the civil war in England the colony received a very strenuous and dogmatic governor, Sir William Berkeley, who was a cavalier of the cavaliers, and who held the colony stiffly for the king, not only through the war, but for three years after the monarchy

Governor
Berkeley

was overthrown. Then the Commonwealth authorities sent a fleet, with commissioners, who seated a new governor in Berkeley's place. Meantime, large numbers of the defeated cavaliers had come over to Virginia, and the Puritan settlers in the colony had suffered such ill treatment that they went into Maryland, to the number of a thousand or more.

Cavalier
immigration

From Virginia, the English Commonwealth commissioners passed on to Maryland, and reconstructed the government there. Lord Baltimore had been, naturally, a partisan of the king; but, when the royal cause was lost, he endeavored to conciliate the victorious party by appointing a Protestant governor, and by broadening the religious freedom of his province, in a famous Toleration Act, drawn by himself and passed by the Maryland assembly, in 1649. Notwithstanding these measures, the commissioners annulled his authority, deposed his governor, ordered the election of a new assembly, and deprived Catholics of the right to vote. This enabled the Puritan newcomers from Virginia to fill the assembly with members so shameless in bigotry that they converted the toleration act into a statute against episcopacy,—that of England as well as that of Rome. Civil war ensued in Maryland, and the Puritans were triumphant; but Cromwell, who had seized power in England, would not countenance their doings, and forced them to a compromise with Lord Baltimore in the end. The lord proprietor recovered control of the colonial government, and the Toleration Act was restored.

The
Maryland
Toleration
Act, 1649

Browne,
Maryland,
ch. v.

Puritan
intolerance

The first footing secured by the English in the West Indies was on the island of Barbadoes, the most westward of the Windward group. Neglected by the Spaniards, English smugglers and pirates began to occupy the island about 1605. Presently planting was undertaken, and, after the secret of the culture of sugar cane had been learned, about 1640, an era of extraordinary prosperity for Barbadoes was opened. A large number of the defeated royalists of the English civil war took refuge in the island, and resisted the authority of parliament for a time, but Cromwell brought them to terms. Then, or not long after, the English were in practical possession of

English
possessions
in the West
Indies

Cromwell's
conquest of
Jamaica,
1655

Nevis, Montserrat, and part of St. Christopher's (St. Kitts), Antigua, Anguilla, and several of the Virgin Islands, in the Leeward group, together with most of the Bahamas, off the Florida coast. In Cromwell's view, the West Indies were more valued than Virginia or New England, and he opened war with Spain in order to attempt a conquest of Santo Domingo,—the Española of Columbus, the Hayti of later times. His expedition for that purpose was repulsed from Santo Domingo, but laid hands upon Jamaica, which has formed part of the British empire ever since. Prisoners taken in his Scottish and Irish wars, and other persons of both sexes, roughly taken by the hard-handed protector, were sent out to be colonists of Jamaica against their will, but possibly for their good, since the colony thrived. The Puritans of Massachusetts were invited, at the same time, to transfer themselves to Jamaica, but declined.

The Dutch in America

New
Netherland

Fiske,
*Dutch and
Quaker
Colonies*,
ch. iv-vii

Beginnings
of New
York city,
1623

In the Dutch New Netherland, a thriving fur trade had been built up, but the management of the colony had not been good. Since 1621 it had been under the control of a corporation in Holland, styled the West India Company, which had almost unlimited powers of government, as well as exclusive rights of trade. The company built Fort Amsterdam, on Manhattan Island, in 1623, and sent out thirty families of its servants, who became the founders of the future great city of New York. In the same year it began fort building on the Connecticut and the Delaware, to hold the two extremities of its territorial claim. Ultimately, it made its footing good on the southern side, after a long struggle with the Swedes, who attempted colonizing on the Delaware; but on the Connecticut, when the New Englanders began settlements there, a few years later, the Dutch had to give way.

"Patroons"

A grave mistake of policy in the matter of peopling and developing its domain was made by the company in 1629, when it offered lands, not to settlers direct, but to a class of landlords called patrons, or "patroons," whose relationship to the tenants of their huge estates resembled that of an English "lord of the manor" in mediæval

times. The system failed, naturally, to encourage immigration to New Netherland, and was abandoned in 1638; but it had created several enormous monopolies in land, and had initiated the production of a landed aristocracy, both of which left lasting effects of no wholesome social kind.

Land
monopolies

The government of the colony was autocratic, and several of the governors appointed by the proprietary company were men of little character or sense. Peter Stuyvesant, the last of the series, was the most despotic of all, but the ablest and the most upright, and New Netherland received, on the whole, a good government at his hands, from 1647 till the end of Dutch rule.

Peter
Stuyvesant,
governor,
1647-1664

In South America the Dutch supplanted the Portuguese for about thirty years on half the Brazilian coast. This was during the period in which Portugal had become subject to the Spanish crown, and was exposed, as a consequence, to the hostility of the Dutch. In Brazil, as in New Netherland, the colony was under the control of the Dutch West India Company, and governed with short-sighted commercial notions of policy, looking to immediate gains. The commercial government was made too grinding and hateful to be lasting, and its officials were driven by colonial revolt from one post after another, till the last were expelled.

The Dutch
in Brazil,
1624-1654

The same Dutch company was put in possession of a few small West India islands, taken from the Spaniards about 1634 or 1635. Curaçao, or Curazao, and St. Eustatius, were the more important of these, and the former became the seat of a rich smuggling trade.

The Dutch
in the West
Indies

The French in America

In 1629, during the war with France, in which England gave help to the Huguenots, both Quebec, on the St. Lawrence, and Port Royal, in Acadia,—the two principal French settlements in America,—were taken by a small privateering fleet, sent out by London merchants, and were in the possession of the English for three years. They were then given up by King Charles, in order to secure a payment of dowry due to Queen Henrietta, amounting to about \$240,000.

First
English
conquest of
Quebec,
1629

French
explorers
and
missionaries

Parkman,
*The Jesuits
in North
America*

When the French resumed possession of the country they resumed the work of westward exploration, which Champlain had begun. This was carried forward by Jean Nicolet, in journeys made between 1634 and 1640, which carried him through Lake Huron and St. Mary's River, and into Lake Michigan. As always, the French explorer was followed by the missionary, when the missionary was not himself the explorer. Devoted priests of the Jesuit order were laboring among the Hurons from 1634 till 1649, when those fated tribes were overwhelmed by their hostile kindred, the Iroquois, and two of the missionaries suffered a horrible fate. The French at this time were harassed by the Iroquois, who had won possession of both banks of the St. Lawrence nearly to Montreal. With the assistance of an association formed in France, the island of Montreal was fortified and settled in 1640, to curb that savage foe, and to be a missionary post.

The French
West Indies

In the West Indies, besides holding part of St. Christopher's Island, the French, during this period, won possession of Martinique and Guadeloupe, with several lesser islands near to those two.

CHAPTER XVII

FROM THE DEATH OF CROMWELL TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE

(1658 TO 1715)

England: Restored monarchy.—Ignoble reign of Charles II.—Protestant hostility to James II.—Monmouth's rebellion.—Revolution of 1688.—Reign of William of Orange and Mary.—Reign of Queen Anne.—Rise of ministerial government.—Literature of the reign.—National union of England and Scotland. *The Dutch Netherlands:* William of Orange, stadtholder.—His organization of resistance to Louis XIV. *France:* Reign of Louis XIV.—His perfidious conquests and wanton aggressions.—His revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Leagues formed against him by William of Orange.—War of the Spanish Succession.—State of France as left by Louis XIV. *Germany:* Depressed condition of the petty states.—Rise of Prussia to the rank of a kingdom. *Russia:* Advent of Peter the Great. *Sweden:* Extraordinary career of Charles XII. *Italy:* The duke of Savoy made king of Sardinia. *America:* Founding of the Carolinas.—English conquest of New Netherland.—Penn and Pennsylvania.—Political character of the English colonies.—Designs against them by the restored English monarchy.—The Massachusetts charter annulled.—Rule of Andros.—Effects of the English revolution.—The Franco-English wars in America.—Growth of antagonism between the colonies and the home government. *India:* First footing of the English East India Company obtained. *China:* Reign of Kanghi.

Seemingly, the attempt in England to curb an oppressive monarchy and secure constitutional government had resulted in nothing but a fatal discouragement of political hopes, there and abroad. Triumphant absolutism appeared to have been fortified in all its citadels by a new buttress of hard fact. In France and in Germany it rose rampant and defiant, to an insolence of spirit that had never been manifested since the worst days of imperial Rome; and everywhere, for nearly a generation, the prospects of constitutional government, protective of popular rights and interests, seemed newly cast down. But, happily, the reaction was not lasting. It ended in the generation on which it fell, and a fresh culture of

The
temporary
triumphs of
absolutism

- democratic ideas and aspirations was soon thriving in most parts of the civilized world.

Restored monarchy in England

Charles II.,
1660-1685

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
1 : ch. ii-iii

Airy,
*The
English
Revolution
and Louis
XIV.*

When, in May, 1660, the English nation restored its ancient monarchy, and welcomed Charles II. to the throne from which his father had been cast down, it was tired of a military despotism; tired of Puritan austerity; tired of revolution and political uncertainty;—so tired that it threw itself down at the feet of the most worthless member of the most worthless royal family in its history, and gave itself up to him without a condition or a guarantee. For twenty-five years it endured both oppression and disgrace at his hands. It suffered him to make a brothel of his court; to empty the national purse into the pockets of his shameless mistresses and debauched companions; to revive the ecclesiastical tyranny of Laud; to make a crime of the religious creeds and the worship of more than half his subjects; to sell himself and sell the honor of England to the king of France for a secret pension, and to be in every possible way as ignoble and despicable as his father had been arrogant and false.

The
royalists'
revenge

With the king, the king's party came back to power, took control of parliament, and reveled in works of ignoble revenge. Fourteen of the prominent Roundheads—mostly "regicides," as the judges of the late king were called—were put to death, and those already dead were pursued shamefully in their graves. The body of Cromwell was dragged from its tomb in Westminster Abbey to be hanged, and the bodies of Pym, Blake, and others, were disinterred and flung into pits. The spirit of vengeance was nowhere else so rampant as in the church. By one act of parliament, in 1662, every clergyman and teacher was required to give an "unfeigned assent and consent" to everything contained in the prayer-book of the established church, and 2,000 "Nonconformists" who could not do so were driven from their pulpits and chairs. By another act, no Nonconformist minister was permitted to come within five miles of a town or place in which he had preached or taught. By still another, attendance at any religious meeting of more than five persons, conducted

Persecution
of non-
conformists

otherwise than according to the forms of the church of England, was made a crime, punishable by imprisonment or transportation.

The king, who was secretly a Catholic, and who wished to give freedom to Catholic rites, claimed authority to relax or dispense with such intolerant laws, by a royal "declaration of indulgence," and hoped to receive support from the Nonconformists, if he extended that favor in common to them and to the members of the church of Rome. But the persecuted Protestants were not at all willing to share a royal "indulgence" with the Romanists, whose persecution they approved.

Secret
Catholicism
of the king

The fact that the king's brother, and probable successor, the duke of York, was avowedly a Catholic, and that the king himself was believed to be the same in his secret belief, so far as he had any religious belief, was a cause of great anxiety of feeling, as the reign went on. That anxiety became alarm when it was discovered that Charles, in 1670, had entered into a secret treaty with Louis XIV., of France, preparatory to a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion. The treaty pledged large yearly payments of money to him, and the help of French troops, in case his subjects should rebel; in return for which he was to assist the king of France in a projected subjugation of the Dutch. This discovery gave a quick impetus to the growth of a party in parliament, called the Country party, which had been gathering numbers for some time, in opposition to the king and court.

Avowed
Catholicism
of his
brother

The Country
party

Unfortunately, the better aims of the Country party, led by Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell, became mixed with the lower ones of a movement of popular agitation against the king that was set on foot by the earl of Shaftesbury, the most scheming and adroit politician of the age. Still more unfortunately, a wretch named Titus Oates came on the scene, in 1678, with stories of a pretended "popish plot," which excited the Protestant alarm in the country to a panic pitch. On the perjured testimony of Oates and other creatures who confirmed his tales, some two thousand Catholics, accused of complicity in a gigantic conspiracy with foreigners against the English constitu-

Shaftesbury

The
pretended
"popish
plot,"
1678-1679

tion and the Protestant faith, were imprisoned, and seventeen were put to death.

Reaction in
public
feeling

Execution of
Sidney and
Russell,
1683

When the frenzy was spent, and the falsity of the stories that gave rise to it became apparent, a great reaction of public feeling occurred, which broke the strength of the opposition to the king, and made him all-powerful for the brief remainder of his reign. Attempts to exclude the duke of York from the succession to the crown lost popular support; Shaftesbury had to fly to Holland; London, his stronghold, was deprived of its charter, and several other cities fared the same. Not long afterward, Sidney and Russell, accused of some shadowy implication in a project (known as the Rye House Plot) for the seizure and possible murder of the king and the duke of York, were brought to the block.

Tories and
Whigs

It was in this period that the supporters of the king and court began to be called Tories and their opponents styled Whigs. Both names were meaningless in their political application, the word "tory," coming from Ireland, signifying an outlaw, while "whig" was a Scottish word, meaning sour whey.

The Habeas
Corpus Act,
1679

Before the Whigs lost control of parliament, they passed, in 1679, the famous Habeas Corpus Act, which established, finally, an old principle of the English common law, that untried prisoners must be brought on demand before a judge, for investigation of the grounds on which they are held.

An ignoble
reign

The ignoble reign of Charles II. left this one important gift of good to England; there is hardly another to be found. It is a reign marked in the English annals by many pollutions, and many shames, including the shame of the king who took pay from a foreign sovereign for dishonorable services, and the shame of a war with Holland, in which the navy, that Blake and Cromwell left invincible, had so suffered from royal wastefulness and official corruption that it could not defend the Thames from a Dutch invasion and London from some days of blockade. It is marked, likewise, by two dire calamities: the plague of 1665 and the great fire which half destroyed London, in 1666. Its quarter century of evil memory came to an end

The plague
and the
great fire,
1665-1666

in February, 1685, when Charles died, leaving no legitimate child.

Scotland suffered more than England in this mean reign. Presbyterianism was abolished and an episcopal church system set up; but certain presbyterian ministers who obtained an "indulgence" were permitted to preach. The strict Scottish "Covenanters" would not listen to these "indulged" preachers, and persisted in resorting to secret meetings, in the mountains and on the moors. For years there was no other rebellion on their part than the endeavor to meet their chosen pastors and unite in prayers and psalms; but they were hunted by wild Highlanders, shot, hanged, imprisoned and tortured, till they took arms in their own defense. Under the direction of the earl of Lauderdale, one of King Charles's favorite ministers, the most energetic and merciless persecutor of the Covenanters was John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who won an evil fame in the work. Claverhouse suffered a sharp defeat at the hands of the maddened Covenanters at Drumclog, in May, 1669. In the last years of the persecution it was directed by the duke of York, who was put at the head of the Scottish government in 1681.

Sufferings of
Scotland

Persecution
of the
Covenanters

Claverhouse

The prospects of neither England nor Scotland were improved in 1685 by the accession of the duke of York to the two thrones, on one of which he was James II., on the other James VII. James had more honesty than his brother or his father; but the narrowness and the meanness of the Stuart race were in his blood. His religion was dull bigotry, and he opposed it to the Protestantism of the kingdom with an aggressiveness that showed he had learned nothing from his father's fate. In the first year of his reign there was a rebellion undertaken, in the interest of a bastard son of Charles II., called duke of Monmouth; but it was put down savagely, first by force of arms, at Sedgemoor, and afterward by the "bloody assizes" of the ruthless Judge Jeffreys, of evil fame. Encouraged by this success against his enemies, James began to ignore the "Test Act," which excluded Catholics from office, and to surround himself by men of his own religion. The Test Act was an unrighteous law, and

James II.,
1685-1688

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
ch. iv-x

The
Monmouth
rebellion,
1685

Declaration
of Indul-
gence, 1687

The
revolution.
Flight of
King James,
1688

Ireland in
arms for
King James,

Siege of
London-
derry, 1689

Battle of the
Boyne, 1690

Treaty of
Limerick,
1691

the "Declaration of Indulgence" which James issued, for the toleration of Catholics and Dissenters, was just in principle, according to the ideas of later times; but the action of the king with respect to both was, nevertheless, a gross and threatening violation of law. England had submitted to worse conduct from Charles II., but its Protestant temper was now roused, and the loyalty of the subject was consumed by the fierceness of the churchman's wrath. James's daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, prince of Orange, were invited from Holland to come over and displace the obnoxious father from his throne. They accepted the invitation, November, 1688; the nation rose to welcome them; James fled,—and the great Revolution, which ended arbitrary monarchy in England forever, and established constitutional government on clearly defined and lasting bases, was accomplished without the shedding of a drop of blood.

Ireland was not submissive to the English revolution. King James had put the Catholics of that island in power, giving them a few years of opportunity to oppress, as they had been oppressed. They rose against the new English government, not so much for King James as for themselves, to improve what seemed to be a favorable time for revolt. The fugitive king came from France to their help, in the spring of 1689, with an extensive equipment of ships, arms, officers and money, supplied to him by his good friend, Louis XIV., and there were two years and more of Irish war. The important incidents of the war were the siege of the Protestant city of Londonderry, which held out for three months, with resolute endurance of starvation and disease; the decisive battle of the Boyne, fought on the 1st of July, 1690, and won by King William, in personal command, against the Irish and French army of James; and the reduction of Limerick, in October, 1691, which ended the war. By a treaty then signed at Limerick, the Catholic Irish were promised a small measure of religious freedom, and were assured that submission should save them from a confiscation of estates. But, no sooner was a Protestant parliament re-seated at Dublin than it brushed the treaty of Limerick aside, and proceeded, with infamous perfidy, to the most

malignant measures of oppression that the long suffering island had yet known. Catholic Ireland was crushed. Says Macaulay: "There was peace. The domination of the colonists [that is, the Protestant colonists of the 'plantation of Ulster' and the 'Cromwellian settlement'] was absolute. The native population was tranquil with the ghastly tranquillity of despair. There were indeed outrages, robberies, fire-raising, assassinations. But more than a century passed away without one general insurrection. . . . Nor was this submission the effect of content, but of mere stupefaction and brokenness of heart."

Catholic
Ireland
crushed

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
ch. xvii

By an act of parliament, passed in February, 1689, William and Mary were declared to be jointly king and queen; but full regal power was conferred on the former, to be exercised in the name of both. "Thus the ancient right of the English people to regulate the hereditary succession of royal-born persons in their monarchy was exercised once more, and established for all time. At the same time, in the same instrument, a broad declaration of the principles of constitutional government, which the late kings had violated obstinately, was made by Parliament and accepted by the new sovereigns, 'so that the right of the king to his crown and of the people to their liberties might rest upon one and the same title-deed.'" In the following October, parliament embodied the Declaration in a Bill of Rights, which takes its place with Magna Charta and the Petition of Right in forming what has been called "the legal constitutional code" of English government. It named the queen's sister, Princess Anne, as the successor to King William and Queen Mary, if the latter should leave no children, and it excluded from the throne every person belonging to the Roman church, or married to one in that church.

William III.
and Mary
II.,
1689-1702

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
ch. xi-xxv

The Bill of
Rights, 1689

"The immense importance, however, of the political revolution of 1688 is not found in the enactments of constitutional law to which it led, so much as in the changed state of mind that it forced upon the people. That obstinate and fatal superstition of loyalty which had looked upon a king as a sacred personage, divinely gifted with an authority that none could resist without sin, had

Extinction of
superstitious
loyalty

Larned,
*History of
England*,
485-6

no root left in the English mind. The church, which planted that superstition, had now helped to tear it away."

Act of
Settlement,
1701

The succession to the crown after Princess Anne was determined by a later act of parliament (the "Act of Settlement"), which positively barred the return of James II. or his descendants to the throne. Queen Mary was then dead, without offspring, and the last of the children of Anne had died in the previous year. By the provisions of the Act of Settlement, one of the children of Elizabeth (called queen of Bohemia), daughter of James I., was made the next heir to the crown after Anne. This granddaughter of the first king James, named Sophia, married to the elector of Hanover, was the only remaining Protestant (excepting Anne) in the Stuart family, and she and her descendants were appointed for that reason to be the future occupants of the English throne.

Deaths of
Mary and
William,
1694, 1702

Queen Mary died in 1694, and King William in 1702. The more important events of their reign are connected with the European combinations against Louis XIV., of France, in which King William bore the leading part, and which involved England in wars, especially affecting her colonies in the New World. These will be told of in another place.

Queen
Anne,
1702-1714

Morris,
*The Age of
Anne*

With no open opposition, Queen Anne received the English crown on the death of King William, as the Act of Settlement had prescribed, and her reign of twelve years was made remarkably important by the mere fact that her character had little force. She fell naturally into the background of English politics; the executive functions of government became attached to her ministers more positively and conspicuously than had ever been possible before. For other reasons, as we shall see, the next two successors of Queen Anne were subjected to a similar eclipse by their ministers; and the peculiar English system of ministerial government, in which all executive activity and responsibility are taken from the nominal sovereign, was given half a century of favoring circumstances in which to be shaped and fixed in its existing form.

Rise of the
system of
ministerial
government

In the same important period, the political parties which

provide a needed mechanism for the system of ministerial government were acquiring, for the first time, a distinctly organized form. Down to the later years of the sixteenth century there were no political parties in England. There were factions that supported great personages or families in their ambitious strifes, but nothing in the nature of a spontaneous division of people by differing opinions, on matters connected with public affairs. The beginning of such divisions appeared first in the reign of Elizabeth, and they were deepened very fast in the time of the first Stuarts and the Cromwellian years; but the animus of parties through all that period was religious far more than political. The strictly political parties date from the reign of Charles II., when Whigs and Tories were lined up in an opposing array that has kept the field in English politics, through many changes of aim and name, to the present day. In Anne's reign the structure of the parties became definite and distinct, and that of the Whigs was solidified to a strength that kept control of the government for nearly fifty years.

The genesis
of English
political
parties

The reign of Anne is one of the shining epochs in English literature, and a singular characteristic of the great writers of that age is the political inspiration of so much of their work. At no other time has so high an order of literary genius been enlisted in party warfare; and never have such masterpieces of literary art been produced in party disputes as were contributed then to enduring literature by Swift, Addison, Steele, Defoe, Arbuthnot, and Gay.

Literature
of Queen
Anne's
reign

One event of great historical importance occurred in the reign of Queen Anne. For a century the crowns of England and Scotland had been united, but the political distinctness of the two kingdoms had been maintained, except during six years of the Cromwellian régime. Now, 1707, a complete union of the English and Scottish peoples in one nation, to be styled the Kingdom of Great Britain, was brought about. The English parliament became a British parliament, with forty-five Scottish members added to its house of commons, and sixteen elected Scottish peers brought into its house of lords;

Union of
England and
Scotland
in the
"Kingdom
of Great
Britain,"
1707

while the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were conjoined in a British flag.

The House of Orange and the Dutch Republic

William of Orange, to whom the English people had given a place in the line of their kings, was holding at the same time the nearly regal office of stadtholder in Holland, as the United Provinces were called more commonly than by their proper name. After a suspension of twenty-one years, that office had been restored, under tragical circumstances, in 1672. During the period of the suspension, the government of the confederacy, administered by the grand pensionary of the Holland province, John de Witt, and controlled by the wealthy commercial class, was successful in promoting the general prosperity of the provinces, and in advancing their maritime importance and power. It conducted two wars with England—one with the commonwealth and one with the restored monarchy—and could claim at least an equal share of the naval glory won in each. But it neglected the land defense of the country, and was found unprepared in 1672, when the Provinces were attacked by a villainous combination, formed between Louis XIV., of France, and his English pensioner, Charles II. The republic, humbled and distressed by the rushing conquests of the French, fixed its hopes upon the young prince of Orange, heir to the prestige of a great historic name, and turned its wrath against the party of De Witt. The prince was made stadtholder, despite the opposition of John De Witt, and the latter, with his brother Cornelius, was murdered by a mob at Amsterdam.

The stadtholdership restored, 1672

Pontalis, John De Witt

The Provinces attacked by Louis XIV., 1672

Murder of the De Witts, 1672

William of Orange against Louis XIV

William of Orange proved both wise and heroic as a leader, and the people were roused to a new energy of resistance by his appeals and his example. They cut their dykes and flooded the land, subjecting themselves to unmeasured distress and loss, but stopping the French advance, until time was gained for awakening public feeling in Europe against the aggressions of the unscrupulous French king. Then William of Orange began that which was to be his great and important mission in life,—the organizing of resistance to Louis XIV. The revo-

lution of 1688-9 in England, which gave the crown of that kingdom to William and his wife Mary, contributed greatly to his success, and was an event almost as important in European politics at large as it was in the constitutional history of Great Britain.

France under Louis XIV.

From 1661 until 1715, Louis XIV. was the absolute ruler of France, and during that long period, of more than half a century, his unscrupulous ambition gave little opportunity for western and central Europe to make any other history than that of struggle and battle, invasion and devastation, intrigue and faithless diplomacy, shifting of political landmarks and traffic in border populations, as though they were pastured cattle and sheep.

When Philip IV., of Spain, died, in 1665, Louis began promptly to put forward the claims which he had pledged himself not to make. He demanded part of the Netherlands, and Franche Comté—the old county (not the duchy) of Burgundy—as belonging to his queen. It was his good fortune to be served by some of the greatest generals, military engineers and administrators of the day, —by Turenne, Condé, Vauban, Louvois, and others,—and when he sent his armies of invasion into Flanders and Franche Comté they carried all before them. Holland took alarm at these aggressions, which came so near to her, and formed an alliance with England and Sweden to assist Spain. But the unprincipled English king, Charles II., was bribed to betray his ally; Sweden was bought over; Spain submitted to a treaty which gave the Burgundian county back to her, and surrendered an important part of the Spanish Netherlands to France. Louis' first exploit of national brigandage had thus been a glorious success, as glory is defined in the vocabulary of sovereigns of his class. He had stolen several valuable towns, killed some thousands of people, carried misery into the lives of some thousands more, and provoked the Dutch to a challenge of war that seemed promising of more glory of like kind.

In 1672 he prepared himself to chastise the Dutch, and his English pensioner, Charles II., with several German

The perfidy
of Louis
XIV.

His first
exploit of
brigandage,
1667-1668

The spoil
and the
victims

His attack
on Holland,
1672-1678

Battle of
Fehrbellin,
1675

Successes of
"the grand
monarch"

Minor
aggressions
of Louis
XIV.

princes, joined him in the war. It was this war, as related already, which brought about the fall and the death of John de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland; which raised William of Orange to the restored stadtholdership, and which gave him a certain leadership of influence in Europe, as against the French king. It was this war, likewise, which gave the Hohenzollerns their first great battle triumph, in the defeat of the Swedes, the allies of the French, at Fehrbellin. For Frederick William, the "great elector," had joined the emperor Leopold and the king of Spain in another league with Holland, to resist the aggressions of France; while Sweden now took sides with Louis.

England was soon withdrawn from the contest, by the determined action of parliament, which forced its king to make peace. Otherwise the war became general in western Europe and was frightful in the death and misery it cost. Generally the French had the most success. Turenne was killed in 1675 and Condé retired the same year; but able commanders were found, in Luxembourg and Crequi, to succeed them. In opposition to William of Orange, the Dutch made peace at Nimeguen, in 1678, and Spain was forced to give up Franche Comté, with another fraction of her Netherland territories; but Holland lost nothing. Again Louis XIV. had beaten and robbed his neighbors with success, and was at the pinnacle of his glory. France, it is true, was oppressed and exhausted, but her king was a "grand monarch," and she must needs be content.

For a few years the grand monarch contented himself with small filchings of territory, which kept his conscience supple and gave practice to his sleight-of-hand. On one pretext and another he seized town after town in Alsace, and, at last, in 1681, surprised and captured the imperial free city of Strasburg, in a time of entire peace. He bombarded Genoa, took Avignon from the pope, bullied and abused feeble Spain, made large claims on the Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law, but against her will, and did nearly what he was pleased to do, without any effective resistance, until after William of Orange had

been called to the English throne. That completed a great change in the European situation.

The change had been more than half brought about already, by a foul and foolish measure which Louis had adopted in his domestic administration. Cursed with a tyrant's impatience at the idea of free thought and free opinion among his subjects, he had been persuaded by zealots near his person to revoke the Edict of Nantes and revive persecution of the Huguenots. This was done in 1685. The fatal effects within France resembled those which followed the persecution of the Moriscoes of Spain. The Huguenots formed a large proportion of the best middle class of the kingdom,—its manufacturers, its merchants, its skilled and thrifty artisans. Violent efforts were made to detain them in the country, and there force them to apostasy or hold them under punishment if they withstood. But there was not power enough in the monarchy, with all its absolutism, to inclose France in such a wall. Vast numbers escaped—half a million, it is thought—carrying their skill, their knowledge, their industry and their energy into Holland, England, Switzerland, all parts of Protestant Germany, and across the ocean to America. France was half ruined by the loss.

At the same time, the Protestant allies in Germany and the north, whom Louis had held in subserviency to himself so long, were angered and alarmed by his act. They joined a new defensive league against him, formed at Augsburg, in 1686, which embraced the emperor, Spain, Holland and Sweden, at first, and afterward took in Savoy and other Italian states, along with Germany, almost entire. But the league was miserably unprepared for war, and hardly hindered the march of Louis' armies when he suddenly moved them into the Rhenish electorates in 1688. For the second time in his reign, and under his orders, the Palatinate was devastated horribly with fire and sword. But this attack on Germany, occupying the arms of France, gave William of Orange his opportunity to enter England unopposed and take the English crown. That accomplished, he brought England into the league, enlarging it to a "grand alliance" of all western Europe against the dangerous monarch of France.

Revocation
of the Edict
of Nantes,
1685

Exodus of
Huguenots

Poole,
*History
of the
Huguenots
of the
Dispersion*

War of the
League of
Augsburg,
1686-1697

Macaulay,
*History of
England*,
ch. xi, xix-
xxii

Ranke,
*History of
England*,
17th
century,
5: bk. 20,
ch. i

France
against
western
Europe

Treaty of
Ryswick,
1697

War of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-1714

Macaulay,
*Essays :
Macon's
War of the
Succession*

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
century,*
ch. I

France had now to deal with enemies on every side. They swarmed on all her frontiers; and she met them with amazing valor and strength. For three years the French more than held their own, not only in land fighting, but on the sea, where they seemed likely, for a time, to dispute the supremacy of the English and the Dutch with success. But the frightful draft made on the resources of the nation, and the strain on its spirit, were more than could be kept up. The obstinacy of the king, and his indifference to the sufferings of his people, prolonged the war until 1697, but with steady loss to the French of the advantages with which they began. Two years before the end, Louis had bought over the duke of Savoy, by giving back to him all that France had taken from his Italian territories since Richelieu's time. When the final peace was settled, at Ryswick, like surrenders had to be made in the Netherlands, Lorraine, and beyond the Rhine; but Alsace, with Strasburg, was kept, to be a German graft on France, until the sharp Prussian pruning knife, in our own time, cut it away.

There were five years of peace after the treaty of Ryswick, and then a new war—longer, more bitter, and more destructive than those before it—arose out of questions connected with the succession to the crown of Spain. Charles II., last of the Austro-Spanish or Spanish-Hapsburg kings, died in 1700, leaving no heir. The nearest of his relatives to the throne were the descendants of his two sisters, one of whom had married Louis XIV. and the other the emperor Leopold of the Austrian house. Louis XIV., as we know, had renounced all the Spanish rights of his queen and her issue; but that renunciation had been shown already to be wasted paper. Leopold had renounced nothing; but he had required a renunciation of her Spanish claims from the one daughter, Maria, of his Spanish wife, and he put forward claims to the Spanish succession, on his own behalf, because his mother had been a princess of that nation, as well as his wife. He was willing, however, to transfer his own rights to a younger son, fruit of a second marriage, the archduke Charles.

The question of the Spanish succession was one of European interest and importance, and attempts had been

made to settle it two years before the death of the Spanish king, in 1698, by a treaty, or agreement, between France, England and Holland. By that treaty these outside powers (not consulting Spain) undertook a partition of the Spanish monarchy, in what they assumed to be the interest of the European balance of power. In Spain, this proceeding was resented, naturally, by both people and king, and the latter was persuaded to set against it a will, bequeathing all that he ruled to the younger grandson of Louis XIV., Philip of Anjou, on condition that the latter renounce for himself and for his heirs all claims to the crown of France. The inducement to this bequest was the power which the king of France possessed to enforce it, and so to preserve the unity of the Spanish realm. That the argument and the persuasion came from Louis' own agents, while other agents amused England, Holland and Austria with treaties of partition, is tolerably clear.

Attempted
partition of
Spain by
treaty, 1698

The Spanish
king's will

Near the end of the year 1700, the king of Spain died; his will was disclosed; the treaties were as coolly ignored as the prior renunciation had been, and the young French prince was sent pompously into Spain to accept the proffered crown. For a time, there was indignation in Europe, but no more. William of Orange could persuade neither England nor Holland to war, and Austria could not venture hostilities without their help. But that submissiveness only drew from the grand monarch fresh displays of his dishonesty and his insolence. The government of Spain was guided from Paris like that of a dependency of France. Dutch and English commerce was injured by hostile measures. Movements alarming to Holland were made on the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands. Finally, when the fugitive ex-king of England, James II., died at St. Germain, in September, 1701, Louis acknowledged James's son, called "the pretender," as king of England. This insult roused the war spirit in England which King William had striven so hard to evoke. He had arranged the terms of a new defensive grand alliance with Holland, Austria, and most of the German states; there was no difficulty now in making it an offensive league.

A French
prince on
the Spanish
throne

England
insulted,
1701

Death of
William.
Outbreak of
war, 1702

Marl-
borough
and Prince
Eugene

Widespread
war

Misery of
France

Treaties of
Utrecht and
Rastadt,
1713-1714

But William, always weak in health, and worn by many cares and harassing troubles, died in March, 1702, before the war that he desired had broken out. His death made no pause in the movement of events. Able statesmen, under Queen Anne, his successor, carried forward his policy, and a great soldier was found, in the person of John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, to command the armies of England and the Dutch. Another commander, of remarkable genius, Prince Eugene of Savoy, took service with the emperor, and these two, acting cordially together, humbled the overweening pride of Louis XIV. in the later years of his reign. He had worn out France by his long exactions. His strong ministers, Colbert, Louvois, and others, were dead, and he did not find successors equal to their work. He had able generals, but none equal to Turenne, Condé or Luxemburg,—none to cope with Marlborough and Prince Eugene. The war was widespread, on a stupendous scale, and it lasted for twelve years. Its campaigns were fought in the Low Countries, in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain. It glorified the reign of Anne, in English history, by the shining victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet, and by the capture of Gibraltar, the padlock of the Mediterranean Sea. The misery to which France was reduced in the later years of the war was probably the greatest that the much suffering nation ever knew.

Louis sought peace, and was willing to go far in surrenders to obtain it. But the allies pressed him too hard in their demands. They would have him not only abandon the Bourbon dynasty that he had set up in Spain, but join them in overthrowing it. He refused to negotiate on such terms, and Fortune approved his resolution, by giving decisive victories to his arms in Spain, while dealing out disaster and defeat in every other field. England grew weary of the war when it came to appear endless, and Marlborough and the Whigs, who had carried it on, were ousted from power. The Tories, under Harley and Bolingbroke, came into office and negotiated the famous Peace of Utrecht, in which all of the belligerents except the emperor were joined. The emperor yielded to a supplementary treaty, signed at Rastadt the next year.

These treaties left the Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V., on his throne, but bound him, by fresh renunciations, not to be likewise king of France. They gave to England Gibraltar and Minorca, at the expense of Spain; and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, at the expense of France. They took much more from Spain. They took Sicily, which they gave to the duke of Savoy, with the title of king; they took Naples, Milan, Mantua and Sardinia, which they gave to Austria, or, more strictly speaking, to the emperor; and they took the Spanish Netherlands, which they gave to Austria in the main, with some barrier towns to the Dutch. They took from France her conquests on the right bank of the Rhine; but they left her in possession of Alsace, with Strasburg and Landau. The great victim of the war was Spain.

Gerard,
*The Peace
of Utrecht*

Losses of
Spain and
France by
the war

Louis XIV. was near the end of his reign when this last of the fearful wars which he caused was brought to a close. He died in September, 1715, leaving a kingdom that had reasons to curse his memory in every particular of its state. He had foiled the exertions of as wise a minister, Jean Colbert, as ever strove to do good to France. He had dried the sources of national life as with a searching and monstrous sponge. He had repressed everything which he could not absorb in his flaunting court, in his destroying armies, and in himself. He had dealt with France as with a dumb beast that had been given him to bestride; to display himself upon, before the gaze of an envious world; to be bridled, and spurred at his pleasure, and whipped; to toil for him and bear burdens as he willed; to tread upon his enemies and trample his neighbors' fields. It was he, more than all others before or after, who made France that dumb creature which suffered and was still for a little longer time, and then began thinking and went mad.

France at
the death of
Louis XIV.,
1715

The dumb
creature
that went
mad

Germany after the Thirty Years War

In a natural order of things, Germany should have supplied the main resistance to Louis XIV. and held his unscrupulous ambition in check. But Germany had fallen to its lowest state of political demoralization and disorder. The very idea of nationality had disappeared. The empire,

Petty courts
aping the
court of
France

even reduced to a frame and a form, had almost vanished from practical affairs. The numerous petty states which divided the German people stood apart from one another, in substantial independence, and were sundered by small jealousies and distrusting. Little absolute principalities they were, each having its little court, which aped, in a little way, the grand court of the grand monarch of France—central object of the admiration and the envy of all small souls in its time. Half of them were ready to bow down to the splendid being at Versailles, and to be his creatures, if he condescended to bestow a nod of patronage and attention upon them.

Alienation
of Austria

More and more distinctly the emperor drew apart in his immediate dominions as an Austrian sovereign; and more and more completely Austrian interests and Austrian policy became removed and estranged from the interests of the Germanic people. The ambitions and the cares of the house of Hapsburg were increasingly in directions most opposite to the German side of its relations, tending towards Italy and the southeast; while, at the same time, the church influence which depressed the Austrian states widened a hopeless intellectual difference between them and the Germans of the north.

Rise and
union of
Branden-
burg and
Prussia

Carlyle,
*History of
Friedrich
II.*, 1: bk.
2-3

The most notable movements in dull German affairs, after the Peace of Westphalia, were those which connected themselves with the settling and centering in Brandenburg of a nucleus of growing power, around which the nationalizing of Germany has been a crystallizing process ever since. The Mark of Brandenburg was one of the earliest conquests (tenth century) of the Germans from the Wends. Prussia, afterward united with Brandenburg, was a later conquest (thirteenth century) from Wendish or Slavonic and other pagan inhabitants, and its subjugation was a missionary enterprise, accomplished by the crusading order of Teutonic Knights, under the authority and direction of the pope. The order, which held the country for more than two centuries, and ruled it badly, became degenerate, and, about the middle of the fifteenth century, it was overcome in war by Casimir IV. of Poland, who took away from it the western part of its

territory, and forced it to do homage to him for the eastern part, as a fief of the Polish crown.

Sixty years later, the Reformation movement in Germany brought about the extinguishment of the Teutonic order as a political power. The grand master of the order at that time was Albert, a Hohenzollern prince, belonging to a younger branch of the Brandenburg family. He became a Lutheran, and succeeded in persuading the Polish king, Sigismund I., to transfer the sovereignty of the east Prussian fief to him, personally, as a duchy. He transmitted it to his descendants, who held it for a few generations; but the line became extinct in 1618, and the duchy of Prussia then passed to the elder branch of the family and was united with the electorate of Brandenburg, which the Hohenzollern family had acquired in 1417.

Aggrandizement of the Hohenzollerns

The superior weight of the Brandenburg electors in northern Germany may be dated from their acquisition of the important duchy of Prussia; but they made no mark on affairs until the time of Frederick William I., called "the great elector," who succeeded to the electorate in 1640, near the close of the Thirty Years War. In the arrangements of the Peace of Westphalia he secured east Pomerania and other considerable additions of territory. In 1657 he made his duchy of Prussia independent of Poland, by treaty with the Polish king. In 1672 and 1674 he had the courage and independence to join the allies against Louis XIV., and when the Swedes, in alliance with Louis, invaded his dominions, he defeated and humbled them at Fehrbellin, and took from them the greater part of their Pomeranian territory. When the great elector died, in 1688, Brandenburg was the commanding North-German power, and the Hohenzollern family had entered fully on the great career it has since pursued.

"The great elector,"
1640-1688

Ranke,
*Memoirs of
the House of
Brandenburg*, i: ch.
iii

Frederick William's son Frederick, with none of his father's talent, had a pushing but shallow ambition. He aspired to be a king, and circumstances made his friendship so important to the emperor Leopold I. that the latter, exercising the theoretical super-sovereignty of the Cæsars, endowed him with the regal title. He was made king of Prussia, not of Brandenburg, because Branden-

Prussia
becomes a
kingdom,
1700

burg stood in vassalage to the empire, while Prussia was an independent state.

Poland

In Poland, the political demoralization had become complete. The elections of Polish kings were prize contests in which all Europe took part. Every court set up its candidate for the paltry titular place; every candidate emptied his purse into the Polish capital, and bribed, intrigued, corrupted, to the best of his ability. Once, at least, when the game was on, a sudden breeze of patriotic feeling swept the traffickers out of the diet, and inspired the election of a national hero, John Sobieski, to whom Europe owes much; for it was he who drove back the Turks, in 1683, when their last bold push into central Europe was made, and when they were storming at the gates of Vienna. But when Sobieski died, in 1696, the old scandalous vendue of a crown was reopened, and the elector of Saxony was the buyer. During most of the last two centuries of its history, Poland sold its throne to one alien after another, and allowed foreign states to mix and meddle with its affairs. Of real nationality there was not much left to extinguish when the time of extinction came. There were patriots, and very noble patriots, among the Poles, at all periods of their history; but it seems to have been the very hopelessness of the state into which their country had drifted which intensified their patriotic feeling.

The Polish
elections

King John
Sobieski,
1674-1696

Hopeless
Polish
patriotism

Russia

Russia had acquired magnitude and strength as a barbaric power, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; but it was not until the reign of Peter the Great, which opened in 1682, that the great Slavonic empire began to take on a European character, with European interests and influences, and to assimilate the civilization of the west. Peter may be said to have knotted Russia to Europe at both extremities, by pushing his dominions to the Baltic on the north and to the Black Sea on the south, and by putting his own ships afloat in both. The Russian conquest of Siberia, begun by a Cossack adventurer,

Peter the
Great

Schuyler,
*Peter the
Great*

Conquest of
Siberia

Yermac Timoseef, about 1578, became practically complete in Peter's reign, or shortly before. From his day, Russia has been steadily gathering weight in each of the two continents over which her vast bulk of empire is stretched, and moving to a mysterious great destiny in time to come.

Sweden

Just at the close of the century, while the powers of western Europe were wrestling in the great war of the Spanish succession, these nations of the east and their near neighbors in the north were involved in a furious conflict, provoked by a wanton attack from Russia, Poland and Denmark on the possessions of the Swedes. In the past century Sweden had made extensive conquests, and her territories, outside of the Scandinavian peninsula, were thrust provokingly into the sides of all these three neighbors. There had been three Charleses on the Swedish throne in succession, following Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Queen Christina, an eccentric character, had abdicated in 1654, in order to join the Catholic church, and had been succeeded by her cousin, Charles X. The six years reign of this Charles was one of constant war with the Danes and the Poles, and he was the aggressor in almost every case. His son and successor, Charles XI., suffered the great defeat at Fehrbellin which gave prestige to Brandenburg; but he was shielded by the puissant arm of Louis XIV., his ally, and lost no territory. More successful in his domestic policy than in his wars, he, both practically and formally, established absolutism in the Swedish realm. Inheriting from his father that absolute power, while inheriting at the same time the ruthless ambition of his grandfather, Charles XII. came to the throne in 1697.

Swedish
conquests

Wars with
Danes and
Poles

The
Swedish
absolute
monarchy

In the first two years of his reign, this extraordinary young autocrat showed so little of his character that his royal neighbors thought him a weakling, and Peter the Great, of Russia, conspired with Augustus of Poland and Frederick IV. of Denmark to strip him of those parts of his dominion which they severally craved. The result was like the rousing of a lion by hunters who went forth

Charles
XII.,
1697-1718

Voltaire,
*History of
Charles
XII.*

The
coalition
against
Charles,
1700

Its fate

Charles
XII. in
Russia

His five
years in
Turkey,
1709-1714

to pursue a hare. The young Swede, dropping, instantly and forever, all frivolities, sprang at his assailants before they dreamed of finding him awake, and the game was suddenly reversed. The hunters became the hunted, and they had no rest for nine years from the implacable pursuit of them which Charles kept up. He defeated the Danes and the Russians in the first year of the war. In 1702 he invaded Poland and occupied Warsaw; in 1704 he forced the deposition of the Saxon king of Poland, Augustus, and the election of Stanislaus Leczinski. Not yet satisfied, he followed Augustus into his electorate of Saxony, and compelled him there to renounce the Russian alliance and the Polish crown.

In 1708, Charles invaded Russia, marching on Moscow, but turning aside to meet an expected ally, Mazeppa the Cossack. It was the mistake which Napoleon repeated a century later. The Swedes exhausted themselves in the march, and the Russians bided their time. Peter, the czar, had devoted eight years, since Charles defeated him at Narva, to making soldiers, well trained, out of the mob which that fight scattered. When Charles had worn his army down to a slender and disheartened force, Peter struck and destroyed it at Pultowa. Charles escaped from the wreck and took refuge, with a few hundreds of his guards, in the Turkish province of Bessarabia, at Bender. In that shelter, which the Ottomans hospitably accorded to him, he remained for five years, intriguing to bring the Porte into war with his Muscovite enemy, while all the fruits of his nine years of conquest in the north were stripped from him by the old league, revived. Augustus returned to Poland and recovered his crown. Peter took possession of Livonia, Ingria, and a great part of Finland. Frederick IV., of Denmark, attacked Sweden itself. The kingless kingdom made a valiant defense against the crowd of eager enemies; but Charles had used the best of its energies and its resources, and it was not strong.

Near the end of 1710, Charles succeeded in pushing the sultan into war with the czar, and the latter, advancing into Moldavia, rashly placed himself in a position of great peril, where the Turks had him really at their mercy.

But Catherine, the tzarina, who was present, found means to bribe the Turkish vizier in command, and Peter escaped with no loss more serious than the surrender of Azov. That ended the war, and the hopes of the Swedish king. But still the stubborn Charles wearied the Porte with his importunities, until he was commanded to quit the country.

Even then he refused to depart,—resisted when force was used to expel him, and did not take his leave until late in November, 1714, when he received intelligence that his subjects were preparing to appoint his sister regent of the kingdom and to make peace with the czar. That news hurried him homeward; but only for continued war. He was about to make terms with Russia, and to secure her alliance against Denmark, Poland and Hanover, when he was killed during an invasion of Norway, in the siege of Fredrikshald, December, 1718. The crown of Sweden was then conferred upon his sister, but shorn of absolute powers, and practically dependent upon the nobles. All the wars in which Charles XII. had involved his kingdom were brought to an end by great sacrifices, and Russia rose to the place of Sweden as the chief power in the north. The Swedes paid heavily for the career of their "Northern Alexander."

Return of
Charles to
Sweden,
1714

His death,
1718

Swedish
losses

Spain and Italy

Before the belligerents in the north had quieted themselves, those of the west were again in arms. Spain had fallen under the influence of two eager and restless ambitions, that of the queen, Elizabeth of Parma, and an Italian minister, Cardinal Alberoni; and the schemes into which these two drew the Bourbon king, Philip V., soon ruptured the close relations with France which Louis XIV. had ruined his kingdom to bring about. To check them, a triple alliance was formed between France, England and Holland,—enlarged the next year to a quadruple alliance by the adhesion of Austria.

Mahon,
History of
England,
1713-1783,
ch. viii-x

European
alliance
against
Spain, 1717

At the outset of the war, Spain made a conquest of Sardinia, and almost accomplished the same in Sicily; but the English crushed her navy and her rising commerce, while the French crossed the Pyrenees with an army

Revived
kingdom of
the Two
Sicilies, 1720

which the Spaniards could not resist. A vast combination which Alberoni was weaving, and which took in Charles XII., Peter the Great, the Stuart pretender, the English Jacobites, and the opponents of the regency in France, fell to pieces when the Swedish king fell. Alberoni was driven from Spain and all his plans were given up. The Spanish king withdrew from Sicily and surrendered Sardinia. The emperor and the duke of Savoy exchanged islands, and the former (holding Naples already) revived the old kingdom of the Two Sicilies, while the latter became king of Sardinia.

Rise of the
house of
Savoy

Freeman,
*Historical
Geography
of Europe*,
ch. viii,
sect. 7

Of Italy at large, in the seventeenth century, lying prostrate under the heavy hand of Spain, there is no history to claim attention in so brief a sketch as this. One sovereign family in the northwest, long balanced on the Alps, in uncertainty between a cis-Alpine and a trans-Alpine destiny, but now clearly committed to Italian fortunes, had begun to win its footing among the noticeable smaller powers of the day by sheer dexterity of trimming and shifting sides in the conflicts of the time. This was the house of Savoy, whose first possessions, gathered in the crumbling of the old kingdom of Burgundy, lay on both slopes of the Alps, commanding important passes. On the western and northern side, the counts, afterward dukes, of Savoy had to contend, as time went on, with the expanding kingdom of France and with the Swiss, falling back before both.

The free
city of
Geneva

The duke
of Savoy
becomes
king of
Sardinia,
1720

At one period, in the fifteenth century, their dominion had stretched to the Saône, and to the lake of Neufchatel, on both sides of it, surrounding the free city of Geneva, which they were never able to overcome. After that time, the Savoyards gradually lost territory on the Gallic side and won compensations on the Italian side, in Piedmont, and at the expense of Genoa and the duchy of Milan. The duke Victor Amadeus II. was the most successful winner for his house, and he made his gains by remarkable manœuvring on both sides of the wars of Louis XIV. One of his acquisitions was the island kingdom of Sicily, which gave him a royal title. A few years later he exchanged it with Austria for the island kingdom of Sardinia—a realm more desirable to him for geographical

reasons alone. The dukes of Savoy and princes of Piedmont thus became kings of Sardinia, and the name of the kingdom was often applied to their whole dominion, down to the recent time when the house of Savoy attained the grander kingship of united Italy.

America

The English colonies in America were increased in number much more than in prosperity, during the reigns of the last two Stuart kings. The first to be added bore the name of the Province of Carolina, and was created in 1663 by a palatine charter from the king to a company of influential courtiers, endowing them with the same sovereignty in their province that was enjoyed by Lord Baltimore in his. Their grant of territory gave them, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the whole country between the parallels of thirty-one and thirty-six degrees. The province contained already two small settlements on Albemarle Sound, and another on Cape Fear River. In 1671, a place near the site of the present city of Charleston was occupied by a fourth company of settlers, who transferred their homes a few years later to the ground on which Charleston stands. This and the Albemarle settlements became the nuclei of the two finally distinct Carolina colonies, North and South. The two sections of the province drew apart from an early day, under the inefficient government which the proprietary company maintained. A singular constitution, prepared for it by the eminent philosopher, John Locke, contemplating the creation of an hereditary nobility and a feudal land system, with both serfdom and slavery at the base of the social system, proved utterly unworkable, and, after being a cause of disturbance and depression to the province for thirty years, was cast aside.

The founding of the Carolinas, 1663-1693

Charleston

Locke's constitution

The next addition to the English colonies was made in 1664, by conquest of New Netherland from the Dutch. England had never abandoned her claim to that important territory, between the two groups of her colonies; but circumstances had been unfavorable to an enforcement of the claim. At length, for other reasons, a war with Holland had become desirable, to the king, and to England at large. The king desired it for the purpose of

English conquest of New Netherland, 1664

Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, ch. ix-xi

assisting his nephew, the prince of Orange, to recover the stadtholdership of the United Provinces; and the country wanted it as a means of checking the too successful rivalry of the Dutch in trade. The desired war was opened meanly, with no previous declaration, by a secret expedition against the New Netherland colony, taking it by surprise. Stuyvesant, the sturdy Dutch governor, surrendered to superior force, and Colonel Richard Nicolls, commissioned as English governor, took possession, changing the names of the province and its principal settlement—New Netherland and New Amsterdam—to New York.

New
Netherland
becomes
New York

Grant to
the duke of
York

Sale of
New Jersey

In advance of the conquest, the king had granted the whole province to his brother, the duke of York, and the duke had sold, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the part of it lying between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, from Cape May to a line drawn from 41° of north latitude on the Hudson to $41^{\circ} 40'$ on the Delaware. The name New Jersey was given to this latter tract. The grant to the duke of York included Long Island, and extended eastward to the Connecticut River, which encroached on the territory given to Massachusetts, as well as on a new grant just made to Connecticut. This gave rise to long disputes. The powers of government conveyed to the duke of York were not of the palatine order, like those of Lord Baltimore, but were limited otherwise by nothing save conformity to English law. The purchasers of New Jersey received the same political powers from the duke.

Political
powers
conveyed

Grant of
Pennsyl-
vania to
William
Penn, 1681

Fiske,
*Dutch and
Quaker
Colonies*,
ch. xii

The last of the colonies founded under the Stuarts was Pennsylvania, the great province granted to William Penn, in 1681. Penn, the most notable of Quakers, excepting only the founder of the sect, was the son of an English admiral, Sir William Penn, from whom he inherited an ample fortune, together with a claim on the king for £16,000. The father had basked in royal friendship and favor, and these were extended to the son. When the latter proposed to the king that his claim should be canceled by a grant of the territory between New York, New Jersey and Maryland, his suggestion was approved, and a patent was issued which invested the plain Quaker with the attributes of a prince. It made him the proprietor

of a princely province, and endowed him with substantially the same governing authority that was given to the ducal proprietor of New York.

As the territory conveyed to Penn by the royal grant did not touch the sea, he purchased the claim of the duke of York to a strip on the western shore of Delaware Bay, which Lord Baltimore claimed, also, as being covered by his older grant. This, and other questions concerning bounds, involved the proprietors of Maryland and Pennsylvania in disputes that lasted until 1767, when the southern boundary of Pennsylvania was fixed by two surveyors, Mason and Dixon, who gave their names to the famous "Mason and Dixon's Line" of later American history. In the district on Delaware Bay, obtained from the duke of York, Penn had merely ownership, with no political jurisdiction. In consequence, though that section was annexed at first to Pennsylvania, with the assent of its inhabitants, it broke away from the union a few years later and assumed a practical independence, which gave being in the end to the colony and state of Delaware.

Penn's
Delaware
purchase

"Mason
and Dixon's
line," 1767

Origin of
the state of
Delaware

Before he acquired his great Pennsylvania grant, Penn had taken part in Quaker purchases of New Jersey—first of West Jersey from Lord Berkeley, and then of East Jersey from Sir George Carteret—and interested himself in settlements there by people of his much persecuted sect. Now he applied his rare energy and ability to the colonizing of his own province, with such success that not less than 3,000 settlers are believed to have been brought to the Delaware in 1682, and Pennsylvania reckoned a population of 8,000 by the end of its fourth year. No other American colony had risen so rapidly nor prospered quite so well. Philadelphia, laid out and founded by Penn personally in 1682, became at once an important town. During the first visit of the proprietor to his province he instituted an assembly of the "freemen," which adopted a "frame of government," submitted by him, and passed a full body of laws. Those recognized as freemen, entitled to vote and hold office, were all who bought or rented certain holdings of land, or who paid certain taxes, and were believers in the divinity of Jesus Christ. Freedom of worship was conceded to all believers

Quaker
purchases of
New Jersey

Founding of
Philadel-
phia, 1682

Penn's
troubles

in one God; but only Christians, in the strictest sense, could enjoy political rights. The working of the "frame of government" was not successful; it underwent frequent changes in subsequent years, without producing content. Though Penn, who was an eminently wise and just man, made large concessions, he failed to satisfy his colonial subjects; nor did the province become anything but a burden to his estate and a trouble to his mind while he lived.

The three
classes of
English
colonies

The English colonies in America now lacked but one of the final tally, of thirteen; though the two Carolinas were not yet separated distinctly, nor Delaware parted fully from Pennsylvania. At this time one only—Virginia—was a royal or crown colony, subject in its government directly to the king. Maryland and the Carolinas were proprietary colonies, so-called, of the palatine order, the territory embraced in them being granted, in one case to an individual proprietor, in the other case to a proprietary company, on such terms that the sovereignty claimed by the king of England was transferred almost wholly to the proprietors, and he retained no more than the rights of a feudal suzerain, or over-lord. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania (including Delaware) were proprietary provinces over which the proprietors exercised an immediate authority of government, but nothing of the ultimate sovereignty of the king. Massachusetts (in which the small settlement at Plymouth would soon be absorbed), Connecticut (for which a charter annexing the New Haven settlements had been won from King Charles II., by the address of its governor, John Winthrop, the younger, in 1662), and Rhode Island, were colonial creations of an entirely different kind. The proprietorship of their territory, and the political authority exercised in it under the sovereignty of the king of England, were held by the whole body of their citizens, incorporated directly, as bodies politic, by charters from the crown. The three classes of the colonies, and the differences in their political structure, are facts of interest in the history of the origin of the American States.

Distinctive
character of
the New
England
colonies

"Under the wide differences in their political construction there was a fundamental likeness between these

colonies, in the fact that the people in all of them had what the Virginia company described as 'a hand in the government of themselves.' There was a representative legislature in every one; having more independence in some than in others, but exercising everywhere a large measure of democratic power, and striving incessantly against all outside restraints. This was because they were English colonies, of English creation, peopled mainly by Englishmen, who brought from home the expectation of being listened to by their government, and of being represented in the making of their laws and the levying of the taxes they paid. There was no such thing in French or Spanish colonies, or even in those planted by the Dutch."

The fundamental likeness under political differences

Larned, *History of the United States*, 69-70

The institutions of local government which English colonists brought from home were even more important, in some respects, to the future of the communities they formed, than the representative assemblies in which they made, or took part in the making, of their general laws. In New England the colonists gave vigorous new life to an ancient English organization of townships and town-meetings, for the democratic management of neighborhood affairs. Among Englishmen at home the town-meeting had suffered decay; but the New Englishmen of Massachusetts and Connecticut, organizing towns and churches on identical lines, re-developed town-meetings from church-meetings, with powerful democratic effects. "The whole structure of government in New England was built up from the groundwork of these democratic towns. Their representatives composed the 'general courts'; they were the units of all political organization—the primaries of all action in public affairs." From New England and from New York, where a system somewhat similar grew up, the town-meeting was carried widely, in later times, to new communities in the west. In Virginia and Maryland, the prevailing tobacco culture, on large estates, with servile labor, made towns, town-meetings, and a democratic state of society, quite impossible. The county, in one, and the old English district called the "hundred," in the other, were the smallest

Colonial local government

Fiske, *Civil Government in the U. S.*, ch. ii-iv

New England town-meetings

The Virginia county and the Maryland "hundred"

territorial divisions in which the political action of the people could be organized.

After the restoration of the monarchy in England the Puritan colonies could expect nothing from the English government but ill will. In the case of Massachusetts, that ill will was worked upon with diligence by complaining sufferers from persecution, received at the hands of the intolerant "Governor and Company,"—whose worst deed had just been committed when Charles II. came to the throne. Three men and one woman, of the sect of Friends, or Quakers, were hanged at Boston, in 1659 and 1660, for no crime but their persistence in entering the town to preach, after the passage of a law that forbade their coming, on pain of death. At this period, the Quakers, most gently pertinacious of all religious people in declaring their simple Christian creed, were undergoing persecution almost everywhere, by imprisonment and whipping; but Massachusetts was alone in putting the dreadful halter of the hangman on their necks. The age of so venomous an intolerance was past, and what Boston had done to the Quakers was abhorrent to a general feeling, in England, at least. It is probable that strong measures against the independence of Massachusetts might then have been taken, with common approval and support. But the government of Charles II. could do nothing in a strong way, and the bold Puritans of the Bay colony were not to be daunted by anything less than a resolute exercise of English power.

Early in the new reign, plans for curbing all the northern colonies were formed, and the fleet which seized New Netherland, in 1664, took out three commissioners, appointed to "visit the several colonies of New England, and to examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all causes, as well military as criminal and civil, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of that country." Connecticut, Plymouth and Rhode Island submitted readily to the authority of the commissioners, but Massachusetts refused absolutely to permit them to hear any appeals from the action of its government or the decision of its courts, claiming to be exempted from such royal interference by its charter from Charles I.

Persecution
of Quakers
at Boston,
1659-1660

Hallowell,
*The Quaker
Invasion of
Massachu-
setts*

King's com-
missioners
in New
England,
1664-1666

Frothing-
ham, *Rise
of the
Republic*,
54-63

At the end of a long controversy the king's commissioners had to give up their attempt. They failed equally in undertaking to decide an important boundary dispute, against the construction which the Massachusetts authorities had put upon their territorial grant. As the "Governor and Company" preferred to understand their charter, the northern boundary of Massachusetts ran three miles north of *the headwaters* of the Merrimac, which took in a large part of what is now New Hampshire and Maine, both of which were claimed by other grantees. The king's commissioners decided, on the contrary, that the line must run from three miles north of the Merrimac *at its mouth*; and, accordingly, they removed the Massachusetts officials from Maine. Massachusetts, on the first opportunity, restored its officials, and did so in defiance of a direct command from the king, "that the government of the province of Maine continue as the commissioners have left it." The attitude of the Bay colony in all these proceedings appears astonishingly independent and bold, contrasting with the ineffectiveness of action on the king's side.

Resistance
to them in
Massachu-
setts

Northern
boundary
dispute

The colony held its ground and made good its chartered "liberties," according to its own claims, until the last year of the reign of Charles II. Then, in June, 1684, after circumstances in England had broken down the party opposed to the king, and royal influence was all potent, a decree of the English court of chancery annulled the cherished charter of "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay." "The ruin to the Massachusetts colonists which this decree involved was limited by nothing but the mercy of the king. It left them with no rights. Their charter was their title-deed for everything they owned; it was their warrant for everything they had done; it was the ground of everything in their colonial life. To declare it void was to declare that the king had never surrendered ownership of the soil on which they stood; that they were trespassers on his property, and might be dealt with as he pleased; that they had never been empowered to organize a colonial government; that all the acts of their colonial government were invalid and all their laws annulled."

The
Massachu-
setts charter
annulled,
1684

Larned,
*History of
the United
States*, 101

Death of
Charles II.,
1685

Captain-
general
Andros in
New
England,
1686-1687

Connecticut
"charter
oak"

New York
and New
Jersey under
Andros,
1688-1689

Andros
deposed,
1689

Virginia and
Maryland
under the
last Stuart
kings

What King Charles's treatment of the stricken colony would be had not been decided when his sudden death occurred, in February, 1685. The brother who succeeded him took early steps toward making the most of the power that the court of chancery had put into his hands; and, apparently, he planned to reduce the other colonies to the same helpless state. Sir Edmund Andros, whose hardness and harshness had been proved already in New York, was sent out in 1686, as "Captain-general and governor of his majesty's territory and dominion in New England," "and the high-spirited colonists of the Bay writhed under his absolute authority for the next three years. Their general court was abolished; their town-meetings were stripped of the control of local taxes; their press was gagged; the writ of habeas corpus was suspended; all public records were seized and brought to Boston; arbitrary taxes were levied, and property owners paid extortions called 'quit-rent' to save the title to their lands."

When Andros demanded a surrender of the Connecticut charter it was spirited away and hidden in the hollow trunk of the famous "charter oak"; but he assumed the government of that colony, as well as of New Hampshire and Maine, and both New York and New Jersey were added to his jurisdiction in 1688. A suit to break the charter of Lord Baltimore, in Maryland, was begun; and there seemed to be a settled plan for crushing all the American colonies into one "territory and dominion" of the crown, subject in government to the unrestricted will of the king. But, whatever the intent, it was frustrated by the revolution in England which drove James II. from the throne. Massachusetts promptly imitated the English proceeding, deposing Andros and shipping him to London, to be dealt with by the new king and queen.

Notwithstanding the intense loyalty and Cavalier spirit of Virginia, that colony and Maryland suffered more than New England under the last Stuart kings. Tobacco culture, the one support of their prosperity, was stricken sorely by an early measure of the restored royal government—the Navigation Act of 1660. The act was in pursuance of a policy begun by the government of the

commonwealth, in 1651, when the first of the English navigation acts was passed; but it struck the southern colonies a much harder blow than they had felt before. The original object of these acts was to stop the employment of Dutch ships in English trade; but successive enactments went farther in purpose, toward the keeping of all colonial trade in English hands, conducted forcibly through English ports. The effect was to shut the tobacco planters out of all save English markets, depressing prices ruinously and leaving unsalable crops on the planters' hands. Against the New Englanders, who had an abundance of their own shipping, the navigation acts could never be much enforced; but the Virginians, especially after they lost the help of Dutch smugglers from Manhattan Island, were nearly helpless victims of those oppressive laws.

Effect of the
navigation
acts

Politically, too, Virginia had hard experiences under the Stuart régime. Her old Cavalier governor, Sir William Berkeley, restored to place, established a complete despotism in the colony for fifteen years. In the first outburst of their feeling, after the restoration, the colonists elected an assembly so much to the governor's liking that he would not allow it to be dissolved, for any new election, in all that time. Great scandals in the government arose and increased, until the discontent broke at last into open revolt. The immediate occasion of the outbreak, in 1676, was an Indian rising, which the governor would not deal with as a large body of the planters desired. Under the lead of a resolute young man, Nathaniel Bacon, they took the matter into their own hands, and were declared to be rebels, with final consequences of a state of civil war. Apparently, Governor Berkeley was having the worst of the conflict, until a sudden death took Bacon from the field and his party collapsed. The governor recovered full power and used it so savagely that twenty-two of the insurgents were put to death. He was recalled to England the next year.

Despotism
of Governor
Berkeley

Bacon's
rebellion in
Virginia,
1676

Doyle,
*The
English in
America*,
1: 319-352

The outbreak of Indians in Virginia had come closely after one in New England, which opened the most serious of the early Indian wars. The leading tribe in the latter case was that of the Wampanoags or Pokanokets, nearest

"King
Philip's,"
Indian war
in New
England,
1675-1678

Fiske,
*Beginnings
of New
England*,
211-241

neighbors to the Plymouth colony, with which they had always, till this time, been at peace. Angered by the execution of three members of the tribe for a murder committed on one of their own race, they rose in June, 1675, under the lead of their chief, Metacom, called King Philip by the whites. Other tribes joined them, and the war was not ended wholly until 1678; but its most dreadful incidents were in the first year. Twelve towns were destroyed by the savages; no less than a thousand white men, with a large number of women and children, are believed to have perished, while more of the latter were carried into barbarous captivity. Not many males of the hostile Indian tribes survived, and most of the few who did were sold in the West Indies as slaves.

The revolution of 1688, in England, driving James II. from the throne, had tragical consequences in New York. The militia train-bands of that town, under the lead of a well-meaning but ignorant German citizen, Jacob Leisler, deposed the lieutenant-governor of the province, and Leisler undertook the management of affairs. When officials appointed by the new king in England arrived, Leisler was so misguided as to resist them, because they brought him no direct order from the king. It seems to be clear that he intended no treason; but he and his son-in-law were condemned and hanged. They were the victims of a passionate strife between aristocratic and democratic factions, which raged long in the province of New York.

The Leisler
tragedy in
New York,
1689-1691

New
charter to
Massachu-
setts, 1691

The change of government in England raised high hopes in Massachusetts, and persevering efforts to recover the old charter were made, in vain. The outcome was a new charter, issued in 1691, which lowered the self-governing independence of the colony to a serious extent, reducing it to the status of a royal province, under governors of the king's appointment, and subjecting its acts to veto by the governor or the crown. Qualification of the suffrage by church membership was abolished, and ownership of property prescribed instead.

Penn was a sufferer by the English revolution, having enjoyed so much favor under the late reigns that he was regarded by the new court with distrust. His political

authority in Pennsylvania was taken away from him in 1693, and the province was placed under the jurisdiction of the governor of New York; but the next year, on a better understanding of his character, his powers were all restored.

Penn

Lord Baltimore fared worse. The government of Maryland was taken out of his hands, in 1691, and not restored during his life. When he died, in 1715, it was given back to his son, who had left the Catholic church. In the interval, the toleration acts had been swept away, Catholic forms of worship forbidden, and the church of England established by law.

Maryland toleration acts swept away

The English wars with France brought serious suffering to the colonists on the northern frontiers of New England and New York, against whose outlying settlements the French in Canada did not scruple to employ the tomahawks and scalping knives of their savage allies. In the first of the conflicts (called "King William's War" by the colonists), a hideous massacre, of some sixty men, women and children, was committed at Schenectady, then a village on the borders of the wilderness. The worst horrors of the next encounter ("Queen Anne's War") were experienced on the New England frontier, at Deerfield, Lancaster, Saco, Casco and Wells. Retaliating expeditions were sent, in both wars, against Port Royal (now Annapolis), in Acadia, and against Quebec and Montreal, with no success except the capture of the Acadian port. On the European side of Queen Anne's War the result was so heavily against France, as we have seen, that her humbled king was compelled to cede Acadia (then re-named Nova Scotia), Newfoundland and Hudson Bay, to England, and to acknowledge that the Five Nations of the Iroquois were "subject to the dominion of Great Britain."

"King William's War," 1690-1697

"Queen Anne's War," 1702-1714

French cessions to England

Notwithstanding these surrenders of territory, the French were still claimants of the greater part of North America, and had done much, in a certain way, to make the claim good. Their settlements were so few and slight that the total white population of New France in 1683 is thought to have been no more than 10,000; but they had explored and mapped the interior of the continent with

The French footing in America

French
exploration
of the west

Parkman,
*La Salle
and the
Discovery
of the Great
West*

great energy, established military, missionary and trading posts, cultivated the friendship of the Indians, and acquired an important prestige, as being, apparently, the dominant white race in the land. As early as 1640, Jean Nicolet had gone beyond Lake Huron to Lake Michigan. Jesuit missions had been established at Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay in 1669. Father Marquette and Louis Joliet had reached the Mississippi from Green Bay, and gone down that stream to the Illinois, in 1673. In 1679, the indomitable explorer, La Salle, building a vessel on the Niagara River, had navigated the Great Lakes to the foot of Lake Michigan, and proceeded thence to the Illinois, where he built a fort. Three years later, after traversing the same route for the third time, La Salle had descended the Illinois to the Mississippi, and the Mississippi to the Gulf, taking formal possession of the whole valley of the great river in the name of the king of France. Practically, this claim was contested by nobody except the Five Nations of the confederacy of the Iroquois, whose conquest of other tribes had reached far into the west.

Growth of
antagonism
between
England
and her
colonies

Frothing-
ham,
*Rise of the
Republic,*
108-128

After the English revolution of 1688, a rapid growth of antagonistic feeling between the American colonies and the home government of England becomes plainly marked. This sprang from several causes, but chief among them were the political ideas which that revolution had planted in the colonial mind. It had established, for Englishmen, the fundamental principle in government, that a representative legislature is the seat of supreme authority and the sole source of law. Naturally, the colonists took the principle home to themselves, applied it to their own affairs, and shaped upon it a strictly English conception of their own rights. They were looking at this time to no political independence, but they felt themselves to be entitled, as Englishmen in America, to all those rights of control over the purse-strings and the domestic regulations of their government that Englishmen in Great Britain had secured. On the other hand, two influences were working in England which disinclined the ruling classes there to concede an application of their own political principles to English communities on the other

side of the sea. One came from the shipping and commercial interests, that were growing to high importance in these times, and demanding a consideration in English politics never given to them before. According to the economic notions of the age, a colony could not be made profitable to its parent country in any other way than by depriving it of all freedom to produce, or buy, or sell with reference to interests or wishes of its own. The insistence of English shipowners, manufacturers and merchants, that the rigor of this doctrine should be applied to the American settlements of their countrymen, opened a cleavage between the colonies and the home government which their navigation laws and other dictatorial "acts of trade" widened steadily from year to year.

British
commercial
influences

The second influence, more strictly political, grew out of the experience of the wars with France, on their American side. That experience had shown the need of some union among the colonies and some general organization of their military strength. As to the need of the union, there was little disagreement, if any, between colonial and British statesmen, but very wide disagreement as to the nature of the union that should be formed. Union under one vice-royal governor and one supreme crown-appointed council, which the latter desired, would mean a tightening of the imperial rule and a deepening of colonial subjection. It would mean taxation of the colonies without their consent, and expenditure beyond their control. But union by federation, with its bond in a representative federal assembly, would mean the domestic self-government which the colonists believed to be their English birthright. It might mean, also, in their view, the least possible contribution of their own to the cost of defending English interests in America against the French, and the greatest possible draft on the British purse; for they exposed themselves to this latter suspicion by the scantiness of their military grants. Their attitude in the matter of expenditure for colonial defense had much to do with the slow hardening of an opposition in opinion and feeling between the Englishmen in America and the Englishmen in the parent isle.

Differing
desires for
colonial
union

Colonial
parsimony

The early years of the new century brought such signs

Signs of
social
progress

of social progress in the colonies as the founding of Yale College at New Haven, in 1701, the appearance of the first American newspaper, at Boston, in 1704, and the organizing of a regular postal system, under an act of parliament, passed in 1710.

Salem
witchcraft,
1692

Upham,
*Salem
Witchcraft*

But a mark of very different significance had been left on one of the last years of the preceding century, by the frenzied witchcraft delusion at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Ten harmless men and women, malignantly accused of having sold their souls to Satan, and so purchased supernatural powers of mischief and evil, were put to death. Eight more were condemned to death and a hundred and fifty were waiting trial, when the season of madness passed.

The English in India

First
footings
of the
East India
Company,
1615-1698

Madras

Bombay

Calcutta

Akbar, the real founder of the so-called Moghul empire in India, was still reigning when the small first fleet of the English East India Company reached the port of Surat, in his dominions, and obtained privileges of trade. A few years later (1615) an English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, who received him with distinguished favor, and, at his solicitation, gave the English company permission to establish a factory, or agency, at Surat. This, for some years, was the seat of the company's trade, carried on in active rivalry with the Portuguese. In 1640 it acquired ground on the eastern coast of Hindostan, in the Carnatic region, within the dominions of a Hindu prince, who gave it permission to build a fort. The fort was named St. George, and became the nucleus of a town, which grew quickly into the city of Madras. Twenty years or more afterward, King Charles II., of England, obtained the Portuguese island of Bombay, as part of the dowry of his Portuguese wife, and made it over to the company, which established another prosperous station there. A third footing of importance, on the Hooghly, one of the channels of the Ganges, was established in 1698 by the building of a fort, named Fort William, on ground granted by the emperor Aurungzebe.

The great city of Calcutta grew under the shelter of this fort.

These were the three roots of that astonishing growth of power, in a mere corporation of merchants, which finally took to itself, and then transferred to the crown and parliament of England, the whole empire of Hindostan. "Before the accession of the house of Hanover these three main stations,—Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay,—had been erected into presidencies, or central posts of government; not, however, . . . subject to one supreme authority, but each independent of the rest. Each was governed by a president and a council of nine or twelve members, appointed by the court of directors in England. Each was surrounded with fortifications, and guarded by a small force, partly European and partly native, in the service of the company. The Europeans were either recruits enlisted in England or strollers and deserters from other services in India. . . . The natives, as yet ill-armed and ill-trained, were known by the name of sepoys,—a corruption from the Indian word 'sipahi,' a soldier. But the territory of the English scarcely extended out of sight of their towns." These were the beginnings of the dominion of the East India Company.

The three
presidencies

Mahon,
*History of
England,*
1713-1783
4: ch. xxxix

China under the Manchus

Shunchih, the first Manchu emperor of China, was a child during most of the eighteen years of his reign. The second emperor, Kanghi, who occupied the throne for sixty-one years, holds a place of distinction in Chinese history, as one of the ablest and best of the sovereigns that the great empire has known. His intelligence, his vigor, his uprightness, are equally praised. He dealt successfully with many rebellions, and left the authority of the new dynasty well established when he died. Appreciating the scientific knowledge of the Jesuit missionaries, he showed them much favor, employing one of them to correct errors in the Chinese calendar and placing him, for that purpose, at the head of the astronomical board. This angered the native literati, and became an important cause of hostile feeling, which the missionaries had to face in after years. Another ground of prejudice against

The
emperor
Kanghi,
1661-1722

Christian
missionary
factions

the missionaries was furnished by their own factious rivalries and quarrels, between Jesuits, on one side, and Franciscans and Dominicans on the other. Though Kanghi sustained the Jesuits against their opponents, his respect for Christianity as a religion seems to have been considerably shaken by what he saw of its working in these contentious representatives.

Kanghi's
great
dictionary
and
encyclopedia

Kanghi was a noble patron of learning, and the two most splendid and enduring memorials of his reign are the great dictionary and the stupendous encyclopedia that he caused to be compiled, one in thirty-six volumes, the other in five thousand and twenty. Both are standard works of reference in China to-day.

Russians on
the Amur

It was in the reign of Kanghi that the Russians, in their conquest of Siberia, reached the Amur and began attempts to establish themselves on its southern and eastern banks. The vigorous emperor attacked them promptly, captured the forces they had pushed into his territory, and settled them in Peking, where their descendants, it is said, can still be found.

CHAPTER XVIII

FROM THE DEATH OF LOUIS XIV., OF FRANCE, TO THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVO- LUTION

(1715 TO 1775)

Momentous consequences from the wars of the period. *Great Britain*: The first Hanoverian kings.—Walpole.—Evolution of premier and cabinet.—The Mississippi and South Sea bubbles.—Jacobite risings. *France*: Louis XV. and the Regency.—Bourbon “family compact.” *War of the Austrian Succession*: The “pragmatic sanction” of Charles VI.—Frederick the Great and other spoils-hunters.—Results of the war. *The Seven Years War in Europe*: Combination against Frederick the Great.—His great defensive campaigns. *The War in America*: The French in the Ohio Valley.—Washington’s entrance into history.—Braddock’s defeat.—Dispersion of the Acadians.—Pitt’s infusion of new spirit into the war.—Wolfe’s capture of Quebec.—Retirement of France from America.—Pontiac’s war. *The War in India*: French and English struggle for supremacy.—Clive’s career.—The “black hole of Calcutta.”—Subjugation of Bengal.—Expulsion of the French. *Russia*: The four tzarinas.—Catherine II. *Great Britain and her colonies*: George III.—The “king’s friends.”—Their colonial policy.—The “stamp act” and its repeal.—Patrick Henry.—Samuel Adams.—The tea question and “the Boston tea party.”—Punishment of Boston and Massachusetts.—The first “continental congress.”—Lexington and Concord.—The colonies in arms.—Washington appointed to chief command.

The sixty years to be surveyed in this chapter were filled with a succession of hateful wars, not one of which can be said to have had a reasonable, just cause. With almost no exception, they had their ultimate origin in the greedy ambition of uncontrolled princes, who coveted bigger dominions to boast of and more subjects to oppress. They were wars that added heavily to the score against arbitrary monarchies which history was making up, and which an increasing multitude of people was learning to reckon.

Incidentally or directly, however, these wars had three

Wars of
ambitious
monarchs

Their great
immediate
conse-
quences

Their
ultimate
conse-
quences

consequences of far-reaching and tremendous influence on the subsequent history of the world: (1) undisputed domination of the English race in North America; (2) acquisition by the same race of leadership in the far east and supremacy at sea; (3) the rise of Prussia to the footing of a contestant with Austria for rank and lead among the Germanic states. Springing from the first of those primary consequences came, successively, the political separation of the English in America from their motherland, the institution of their great experiment in republican government, the re-awakening thereby of democratic aspirations in oppressed communities, and the kindling of a revolutionary spirit, with its awful outburst in France. From the second came a wealth and a power to the English people which made them dominant in the activities of the world, and planted their language, their law, their institutions, in every part of the globe. Out of the third has come the unity of Germany and its entrance upon a really national career.

England under the first Hanoverians

George I.,
1714-1727

Foreignness
of the new
king

By good management on the part of the English Whig leaders, the arrangements of their Act of Settlement were carried out when Queen Anne died, in 1714, and the elector George, of Hanover, son of the late electress, Sophia, was placed on the throne without disturbance; though a strong body of the Stuart partisans (Jacobites) had determined that the son of James II., called "the pretender," should be brought in. This Hanoverian king was so extremely an alien that he could not even speak or understand the language of his new subjects. He knew nothing of England, and cared for it very little as compared with his Germanic dominion. His interests, ideas, tastes, habits, were all those of a German prince. Of English politics he comprehended only that the Whigs were his supporters, and that he must stand by them, with all the prerogatives of the crown they had placed on his head. Necessarily, he was an almost helpless royal figure in the hands of his ministers, whose councils he could not even attend, and necessarily, too, he was regarded by his subjects with a great lowering of reverence for the

A helpless
royal figure

crowned head. Thus accidents of circumstance in English history had helped once more to weaken the prestige of kingship, and give nerve to the people in their exercise of self-governing rights.

By good fortune, a leadership in King George's ministry was won soon by a man, Sir Robert Walpole, who was singularly fitted to make the best of the conditions of the time. He saw that nothing but peace and prosperity in England would establish the new dynasty, prevent a Jacobite revolution, and keep the government on the parliamentary lines that were laid down for it in the great Bill of Rights. He held his party and his colleagues to that programme of peace for nearly twenty years, during which England was preserved carefully from disturbances and agitations of any serious kind,—too thriving and contented for Jacobite plotters to work up a mischievous revolt. They had attempted a feeble rising in Scotland for "the pretender," in 1715, the year after the death of the queen Anne, but it received little English support.

Walpole's domination in the ministries of George I. and George II. (who succeeded his father in 1727) made him the first of actual "prime ministers" in the government of England, and the ministry subordinate to him became the first English "cabinet," in the later sense of the term,—a council, that is, of executive chiefs, headed and directed by an authoritative "premier." The parliament of the period, and long afterward, was not representative of the people in any degree. A majority of the members of the house of commons were protégés, or agents, or servants, of a few great landlords, and their votes were controlled by influences more or less corrupt. Walpole used such influences notoriously, as ministers before him and after him had done and would do, and parliament was subservient to his will. We are just to him if we say that he was scrupulously patriotic and admirably wise in the use of power which he secured by unscrupulous means.

Before Walpole's ascendancy was acquired, he had opposed a reckless measure of government which plunged the country into mad speculations, ending in a ruinous collapse. A Scotch adventurer named John Law had

Sir Robert
Walpole,
1721-1742

Morley,
Walpole
Lecky,
History of
England,
18th
century,
1: ch. iii

First
Jacobite
rising, 1715

Evolution of
the British
premier
and cabinet

Parliamen-
tary
corruption

John Law's
Mississippi
scheme in
France,
1717-1720

Thiers,
*The
Mississippi
Bubble*

Madness of
speculation

The South
Sea
Company in
England,
1719-1720

Mahon,
*History of
England,*
1713-1783,
2: ch. xi

Breaking of
the bubbles

started the speculative frenzy in France, first by the founding of a stupendous national bank, which issued illimitable quantities of paper money, and then, in 1717, by organizing a monster corporation, connected with the bank, which planned to "engross all the trade of the kingdom and all the revenues of the crown." Law's company was formed under the name of The Company of the West, and the first basis of its operations was a monopoly of trade in that vast American territory claimed by France in the valley of the Mississippi River. This gave his project the name of "the Mississippi scheme." An unexampled excitement of speculation in the shares of the company was created, by extravagant accounts of gold mines and riches of every description in the regions that its present and future monopolies would take in. Very soon it absorbed the French East India Company; then swallowed an African trading company; then acquired control of the tobacco duties and the management of the mint; and every fresh privilege was followed by a larger issue of shares and fresh inflations of their market price. At the climax of this Mississippi madness the shares of 500 francs were sold for 10,000.

The French frenzy spread to England and produced similar consequences there. A South Sea Company, holding special privileges of trade in Spanish America, imitated Law's projects, and the government, in 1719, was induced to make some kind of delusive bargain with it for paying off the national debt. A wild scramble for shares in the company ensued, exactly like the scramble in Paris for Law's shares, and prices were carried to ten times the nominal value of the company's stock. At the same time, a thousand other senseless projects were floated, and nothing was too foolish to win investments of the money which rich and poor seemed insanely eager to throw away. In France the bubble broke in May, 1720; in England the collapse came a few months later. In both countries the ruin and the misery produced are not easily described.

Walpole's supremacy in the government was broken in 1738 by a burst of public wrath against Spain, provoked by the roughness of her dealings with English smugglers,

who swarmed around her colonies, carrying on a forbidden trade. Much was made of the case of one Jenkins, whose ear had been torn off, and the war into which Walpole's opponents succeeded in dragging the country, despite his pacific endeavors, got the name of "the War of Jenkins's Ear." He retained office until 1742, but his power was gone. He then accepted the title of earl of Orford and retired. A period of weak government followed, corruptly controlled by an incapable nobleman, the duke of Newcastle, and his family, the Pelhams; but the seeds of a better force were being cultivated in the house of commons by a few young men, under the lead of William Pitt.

"War of
Jenkins's
Ear"

Walpole's
loss of
power

The war with Spain was merged soon in a great European conflict, the War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted until 1748, and out of which Great Britain brought nothing to show for its heavy cost in money and human life. In the midst of that war the Jacobites made a last attempt to bring the Stuarts back to their lost throne. "The pretender's" son, Charles Edward, called "the young pretender," appeared in Scotland in the summer of 1745, rallied a few thousand Highlanders, took possession of Edinburgh, defeated a small English force at Preston Pans, and marched into England as far as Derby. Finding no encouragement to proceed, he drew back into Scotland, where his faithful Highland followers held their ground in the north until April of the next year. They were broken and scattered then, at Culloden, by an army of British and Hanoverian troops, under the duke of Cumberland, one of the king's sons, who earned the name of "The Butcher" by the ferocity with which he hunted them down. Through many romantic adventures, in which Flora Macdonald, a young woman of the Hebrides, bore a heroine's part, Charles Edward escaped to France.

War of the
Austrian
Succession
1741-1748
(See page
253)

Second
Jacobite
rising, 1745

France under Louis XV.

France was less fortunate than Great Britain in the change of sovereigns that occurred in the two kingdoms at nearly the same time, Queen Anne dying in 1714 and Louis XIV. in the following year. The successor to the latter was his great-grandson, a five-year-old child, and

The regency the regent, Philippe, duke of Orléans, who reigned for years in the child-king's name, was a reckless and shameless debauchee, who sank the French court and Parisian society to the lowest deeps of frivolity and vice. That the young king, Louis XV., was corrupted when he came to manhood, and lived the vile palace life of his great-grandfather and the regent, and reigned as they reigned, with selfish indifference to the people of France, is not to be thought strange.

Louis XV.

War of the
Polish
Succession,
1733

France had a shorter period than England of rest from war, and was benefited less. The next quarrel that engaged her was one peculiar to the eighteenth century, growing out of the election of a Polish king, to succeed Augustus II. As usual, the neighboring nations formed a betting ring of onlookers, so to speak, "backing" their several candidates. The deposed and exiled king, Stanislaus Leczinski, who received his crown from Charles XII., and lost it after Pultowa, was the French candidate; for he had married his daughter to Louis XV. Frederick Augustus, of Saxony, son of the late king Augustus, was the Russian and Austrian candidate. The contest resulted in a double election, and out of that came war. Spain and Sardinia joined France, and the emperor had no allies. Hence the house of Austria suffered greatly in the war, losing the Two Sicilies, which went to Spain, and were conferred on a younger son of the king, creating a third Bourbon monarchy. Part of the duchy of Milan was also yielded by Austria to the king of Sardinia; and the duke of Lorraine, husband of the emperor's daughter, Maria Theresa, gave up his duchy to Stanislaus, who renounced therefor his claim on the crown of Poland. The duke of Lorraine received as compensation a right of succession to the grand duchy of Tuscany, where the Medicean house was about to expire.

A third
Bourbon
monarchy

First
Bourbon
"family
compact"

These were the principal consequences, humiliating to Austria, of what is known as the First Family Compact of the French and Spanish Bourbons. That alliance between the two courts gave encouragement to hostile demonstrations in the Spanish colonies against English traders, who were accused of extensive smuggling, and the outcome was the petty war, already mentioned, be-

tween England and Spain, called "the War of Jenkins's Ear," which opened in 1739.

War of the Austrian Succession

Before these hostilities were ended, another "war of succession," more wicked than any before it, was brought upon Europe. The emperor, Charles VI., died in 1740, leaving no son, but transmitting his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter, the celebrated Maria Theresa, married to the ex-duke of Lorraine. Years before his death he had sought to provide against any possible disputing of the succession, by an instrument known as the Pragmatic Sanction, to which he obtained, first, the assent of the estates of all the provinces and kingdoms of the Austrian realm, and, secondly, the guaranty by solemn treaty of almost every European power. He died in the belief that he had established his daughter securely, and left her to the enjoyment of a peaceful reign. It was a pitiful illusion. He was scarcely in his grave before half the guarantors of the Pragmatic Sanction were putting forward claims to this part and that part of the Austrian territories. The elector of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony (in his wife's name) and the king of Spain, claimed the whole succession; the two first mentioned on grounds of collateral lineage, the latter (a Bourbon cuckoo in the Spanish-Hapsburg nest) as being the heir of the Hapsburgs of Spain.

While these larger pretensions were still jostling each other in the diplomatic stage, a minor claimant, who said little but acted powerfully, sent his demands to the court of Vienna with an army following close at their heels. This was Frederick II., known later as Frederick the Great, who came to the throne of Prussia in 1740, being the third Prussian king. Frederick resuscitated an obsolete claim on Silesia and took possession of the province, without waiting for debate. If, anywhere, there had been virtuous hesitations before, his bold stroke ended them. France could not see her old Austrian rival dismembered without hastening to grasp a share. She contracted with the Spanish king and the elector of Bavaria to enforce the latter's claims, and to take the Austrian Netherlands in prospect for compensation, while

Lecky,
History of
England,
18th
Century, 1:
ch. iii

Ranke,
Memoirs of
the House of
Branden-
burg, bk. 4,
ch. iv-bk. 9,
ch. ii

The
Pragmatic
Sanction

Faithless-
ness of the
guarantors

Frederick
the Great
of Prussia

The royal
spoils
hunters

Spain should find indemnity in the Austro-Italian states. Frederick of Prussia, having Silesia in hand, offered to join Maria Theresa in defense of her remaining dominions; but his proposals were refused, and he entered the league against her. Saxony did the same. England and Sardinia were alone in befriending Austria, and England was only strong at sea.

Maria
Theresa
and the
Hungarians

Maria Theresa found her heartiest support in Hungary, where she made a personal appeal to her subjects, and enlarged their constitutional privileges. In 1742 the elector of Bavaria was elected emperor, as Charles VII. In the same year, Maria Theresa, acting under pressure from England, gave up the greater part of Silesia to Frederick, by treaty, as a price paid, not for the help he had offered at first, but barely for his neutrality. He abandoned his allies and withdrew from the war. His retirement produced an immense difference in the conditions of the contest. Saxony made peace at the same time, and became an active ally on the Austrian side. So rapidly did the latter then recover their ground, and the French slip back, that Frederick, after two years of neutrality, became alarmed, and found a pretext to take up arms again, in alliance with France.

Frederick
out of the
war and in
again

Treaty of
Dresden,
1745

The Austrians held their ground against this new combination of enemies (though English help was withdrawn), until Frederick, near the end of 1745, had crushed Saxony, their one effective ally. Then Maria Theresa, having the Spaniards and the French still to fight in Italy and the Netherlands, could do nothing but make terms with the terrible Prussian king. The treaty, signed at Dresden on Christmas day, 1745, repeated the cession of Silesia to Frederick, together with Glatz, and restored Saxony to the humbled elector.

Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1748

Results of
the war

France and Spain, deserted the second time by their faithless Prussian ally, continued the war until 1748, when the influence of England and Holland brought about a treaty of peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. France gained nothing from the war, but had suffered a serious loss of prestige. Austria, besides giving up Silesia to Frederick of Prussia, was required to surrender a bit of Lombardy to the king of Sardinia, and to make over

Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla to Don Philip of Spain, for an hereditary principality. In the circumstances, the result to Maria Theresa was a notable triumph, and she shared with her enemy, Frederick, the fruitage of fame harvested in the war. But antagonism between these two, and between the interests and ambitions which they represented, respectively,—dynastic on one side and national on the other,—was settled and irreconcilable henceforth, and could leave in Germany no durable peace.

The Seven Years War in Europe

The peace was broken, not for Germany alone, but for Europe and for almost the world at large, in six years after the signing of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The rupture occurred first very far from Europe—on the other sides of the globe, in America and Hindostan, where the rival ambitions of Great Britain and France had brought them to a final and decisive clash of arms. Of those remote conflicts, in the western and eastern worlds, we shall speak later on. Their connection with the hateful war about to distress Europe again is in the fact that they fired the train, so to speak, which caused a great explosion of hostilities that might otherwise have been suppressed for a longer time.

If the English crown had not been worn by a German king, having a German principality to defend, the French and English might have fought out their quarrel on the ocean, and in the wilderness of America, or on the plains of the Carnatic, without disturbing their continental neighbors. But the anxiety of George II. to strengthen his electorate of Hanover against attacks from France led him into an alliance with Frederick of Prussia, which broke the long-standing alliance of England with Austria. This drove Austria to join fortunes with her ancient Bourbon enemy, in order to be helped to the revenge which Maria Theresa now promised herself the pleasure of executing upon the Prussian king. As the combination shaped itself finally on the French side, it embraced France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Poland, Saxony, and the Palatinate, and its inspiring purpose was to break Prussia down and partition her territories, rather than to

Carlyle,
*History of
Frederick*
II., bk.
17-20

Longman,
*Frederick
the Great
and the
Seven
Years War*

Its
beginnings
in America
and India

English
alliance with
Frederick
the Great

The great
combination
against
Frederick,
1756

His
vigorous
action

His first
campaign,
1756

The Seven
Years War,
1756-1763

Campaigns
of 1757-1758

support France against England. The agreements to this end were made in secret; but Frederick obtained knowledge of them, and learned that papers in proof of the conspiracy against him were in the archives of the Saxon government, at Dresden. His action was decided with that promptitude which so often disconcerted his enemies. He did not wait to be attacked by the tremendous league formed against him, nor waste time in efforts to dissolve it, but defiantly struck the first blow. He poured his army into Saxony, seized Dresden by surprise, captured the documents he desired, and published them to the world, in vindication of his summary precipitation of war. Then, blockading the Saxon army in Pirna, he pressed rapidly into Bohemia, defeated the Austrians at Lowositz, and returned as rapidly, to receive the surrender of the Saxons and to enlist most of them in his own ranks. This was the European opening of the Seven Years War, which raged, first and last, in all quarters of the globe.

In the second year of the war, Frederick gained an important victory at Prague and suffered a serious reverse at Kolin, which threw most of Silesia into the hands of the Austrians. Close following that defeat came crushing news from Hanover, where the incompetent duke of Cumberland, commanding for his father, the English king George, had allowed the French to force him to an agreement which disbanded his army, and left Prussia alone in the terrific fight. Frederick's position seemed desperate; but his energy retrieved it. He fought and defeated the French at Rossbach, near Lützen, on the 5th of November, and the Austrians, at Leuthen, near Breslau, exactly one month later. In the campaigns of 1758, he encountered the Russians at Zorndorf, winning a bloody triumph, and he sustained a defeat at Hochkirch, in battle with the Austrians.

But England had repudiated Cumberland's convention and recalled him; English and Hanoverian forces were again put into the field, under the capable command of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who turned the tide in that quarter against the French, and the results of the year were favorable to Frederick. In 1759, the Hano-

verian army, under Prince Ferdinand, improved the situation on that side; but the prospects of the king of Prussia were clouded by heavy disasters. Attempting to push a victory over the Russians too far, at Kunersdorf, he was terribly beaten. He lost Dresden, and a great part of Saxony. In the next year he recovered all but Dresden, which he wantonly and inhumanly bombarded.

Campaigns
of 1759-1760

The war was now carried on with great difficulty by all the combatants. Prussia, France and Austria were suffering almost equally from exhaustion; the misery among their people was too great to be ignored; the armies of each had dwindled. The opponents of Pitt's war policy in England overcame him, in October, 1761, whereupon he resigned, and the English subsidy to Frederick was withdrawn. But that was soon made up to him by the withdrawal of Russia from the war, at the beginning of 1762, when Peter of Holstein, who admired Frederick, became czar. Sweden made peace a little later. The remainder of the worn and wearied fighters went on striking at each other until near the end of the year.

Exhaustion
of the
combatants,
1761-1762

Meantime, on the colonial and East Indian side of it, this prodigious Seven Years War, as a great struggle for world-empire between England and France, had been adding conquest to conquest and triumph to triumph for the British arms.

The Seven Years War in America

In the preceding War of the Austrian Succession the New Englanders, who named it "King George's War," had exchanged some hard blows with their French neighbors, and had accomplished a glorious capture of the fortified naval station of France at Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. Their exertions and successes were useless, however, for the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle restored Louisbourg to the enemy, and left all of the old disputes concerning boundaries of French and English territory in America to breed fresh quarrels, and an early renewal of war. That consequence was hastened by the vigorous proceedings of the French in the west. Having begun colonization on the lower Mississippi (Louisiana) as early as 1699, founding New Orleans in 1718, and having established their military posts along the Great

Preceding
circumstances

The French taking possession of the Ohio valley, 1749-1753

Parkman, *Half-Century of Conflict*, 1: ch. xvii

Entrance of Washington into history, 1753

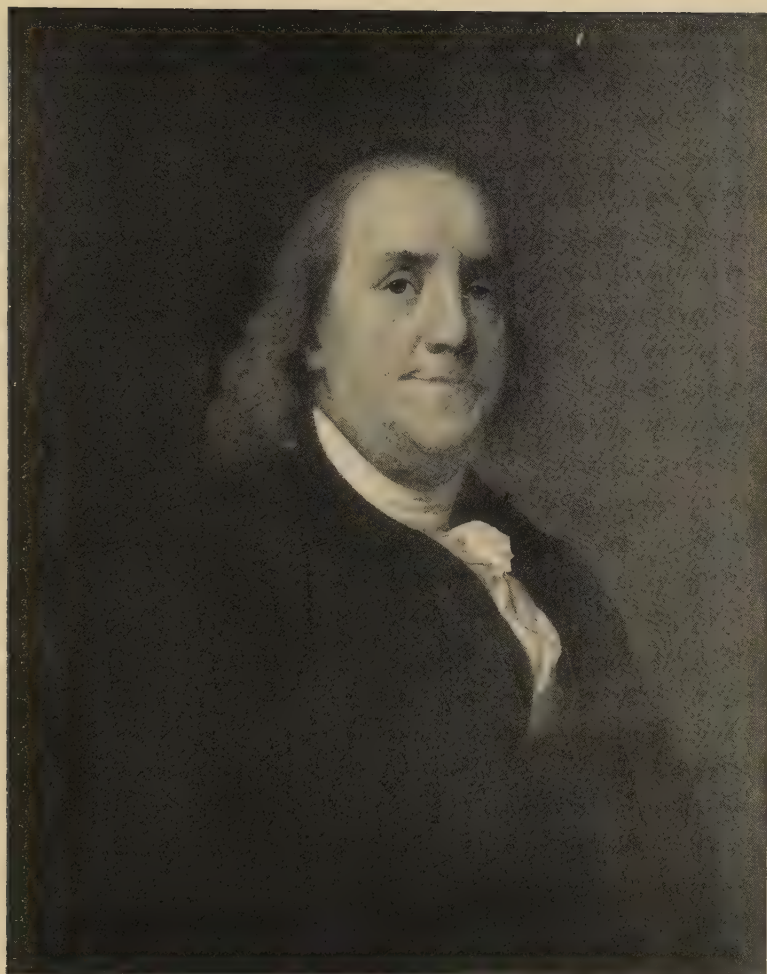
Encounter with the French, 1754

Colonial congress at Albany, 1754

Lakes and on the Wabash and Illinois rivers, they began, in 1749, to take possession of the upper tributaries of the Ohio, crossing Lake Erie near its eastern extremity, and entering the western part of the province granted to Penn. Four years later they built forts on one of the branches of the Allegheny, known since as French Creek. This brought them very close to the mountain borders of settlement in Pennsylvania; but that pacific Quaker colony was heedless of the encroachment, and left remonstrance to Virginia, which claimed the invaded territory, by virtue of the interpretation it had given to its charter of 1609.

It was then that George Washington made his entrance into history. He had barely reached manhood, but was adjutant-general of the militia of Virginia, and was chosen by Governor Dinwiddie to convey a warning to the intrusive French commander, that he had trespassed on English soil. Washington, with a guide, and a small escort, made his way through the wilderness to Fort Le Bœuf and delivered his message, which, of course, had no effect. On his return he was appointed to command a force of two hundred men, for the support of a working party that was sent out, in the spring of 1754, to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where Pittsburg now stands. The working party reached the chosen ground in advance of its military support, and was driven off by the French, who proceeded to build a fort of their own, which they called Fort Duquesne. When Washington and his men approached the place they came into collision with a French scouting party, and that encounter opened the conflict that was decisive of the destiny of the American world. Falling back to Great Meadows, the young Virginian built a small fort, which he called Fort Necessity, and attempted to hold his ground; but the French brought such numbers of their Indian allies against him that he made terms with them and was allowed to withdraw his men.

Most of the colonies—New York and Pennsylvania especially—showed a singular indifference to these French encroachments; but the British government saw the seriousness of the move. It called a congress of colonial commissioners, at Albany, in June, 1754, which arranged



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

a firmer alliance with the Six Nations, and which proceeded then to consider the important subject of colonial union. Benjamin Franklin, one of the commissioners from Pennsylvania, submitted a plan of union which the congress adopted, with some amendments, and recommended to the provincial assemblies and to the authorities at home. The scheme contemplated a general government for the provinces, under a president-general, to be appointed by the crown, and a grand council of representatives, chosen by the several colonial assemblies. Neither the colonists nor the home government were satisfied with this plan. As Franklin, in his autobiography, describes their reception of it, "the assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much prerogative in it, and in England it was judged to have too much of the democratic." The English board of trade, which had charge of colonial affairs, prepared another scheme, "whereby," says Franklin, "the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, etc., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterward to be refunded by an act of parliament, laying a tax on America." Thus, in England, the determination to tax the colonies by authority of parliament for the cost of their defense was becoming fixed, and the final conflict with France was undertaken with that in view.

Projects of
of colonial
union

Franklin,
*Autobiog-
raphy*

Opening of
the war in
America,
1755

Parkman,
*Montcalm
and Wolfe*,
2 : ch. vii-x

Braddock's
defeat, July
19, 1755

Early in 1755 considerable forces were sent to America from both England and France, General Braddock commanding the English and Baron Dieskau those of the French. At a conference in Virginia, where Braddock and his army were landed, four movements against the French were planned. The main expedition, directed against Fort Duquesne, was led by Braddock, who knew nothing of wilderness warfare with savages, and who would take no advice. The consequence was that dreadful disaster which is familiar to every reader as "Braddock's defeat." Ambushed in the forest, near Fort Duquesne, by hidden foes, who fired from behind trees, he scorned to let his men defend themselves in the same backwoods fashion, but held them in battle order till they

broke and fled wildly, leaving their wounded to be tomahawked and scalped. Braddock was wounded mortally, and 800 of the 2,200 in his command are believed to have been lost. Washington had taken a place on the staff of the unfortunate British general, and performed heroic service in collecting and saving the fugitive remnant of the army; but the whole Pennsylvania frontier was abandoned to the merciless savages for some months.

Other
expeditions

Of the other expeditions concerted with General Braddock, one, intended for the capture of Fort Niagara, at the outlet of the Niagara River, went no farther than Oswego. Another, against Crown Point, commanded by Colonel William Johnson, superintendent of Indian affairs in New York (afterward Sir William Johnson), won an important victory, near the head of Lake George, wounding and capturing Baron Dieskau; but the object of its undertaking was not gained. The remaining movement, planned for the expulsion of the French from the Bay of Fundy and its neighborhood, where they kept up intrigues with the Acadian French of Nova Scotia, had complete success.

Nova Scotia

Since Nova Scotia was ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, its French inhabitants had stubbornly maintained their allegiance to France, encouraged to do so, apparently, by intriguing French priests. Until 1749 they formed practically the total population of the province, and the king of England was said to have not one truly loyal subject in the Acadian peninsula, outside of the fort at Annapolis. In that year the situation was changed somewhat by the sending out of twenty-five hundred British settlers, at government expense, to found a colony where the city of Halifax now stands. This had strengthened the English footing in that region; but the irreconcilable attitude of the Acadians caused troubles which provoked a cruel measure. In 1755 they were taken by force from their homes, in large numbers, and shipped to different points in the English colonies, whence many of them made their way to the Louisiana settlements of the French. From the incidents of this harsh measure, Longfellow wove the pathetic tale in his poem of "Evangeline."

Founding of
Halifax,
1749

Dispersion
of the
Acadians,
1755

Baron Dieskau was succeeded by the marquis de Montcalm, while Braddock was replaced by Lord Loudon; and these appointments proved greatly to the advantage of the French. Things went badly with the British for the next two years. Then came an astonishing change, in 1758, when William Pitt, afterward earl of Chatham, rose to power in the English ministry, and infused his high spirit and his surpassing energy into every arm of the government and every movement of the war. Louisbourg was taken again that year; the French were driven from Fort Duquesne, and Fort Frontenac, on the north shore of Lake Ontario, was destroyed. One dreadful disaster was sustained, at Fort Ticonderoga, on the outlet from Lake George into Lake Champlain, where a blundering assault on the works was repulsed with awful slaughter. Lord Howe, the capable second officer in command, who might have prevented the useless carnage, had been killed in a chance encounter, a few days before.

Marquis de
Montcalm

Pitt,
organizer of
British
victories,
1758-1761

The crowning British victory was won in the next year (September 13, 1759), when Quebec, the citadel of Canada, was taken by General Wolfe, who died on the battlefield, while Montcalm, his antagonist, received a mortal wound. Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara, and Duquesne had been surrendered or abandoned before the fall of Quebec. In other quarters the French forces continued a hopeless struggle until September, 1760, when the surrender of Montreal carried with it the surrender throughout Canada and the west of all the French forces in arms.

British
capture of
Quebec, 1759

Conquest of
Canada and
the west,
1760

Forgetting the rights of the native occupants of the country, the English deemed this a sufficient acquisition by conquest, and took possession without seeking the assent of the Indian tribes, whose friendship had been cultivated carefully by the French. The consequence was a great combination formed against them by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief, and a nearly simultaneous attack on all their western posts, in May and June, 1763. Generally their garrisons were taken by surprise, and were overcome almost everywhere, except at Detroit and Fort Pitt. The siege of Detroit, by Pontiac in person, was maintained for six months, the garrison holding out till relieved. At

Pontiac's
war,
1763-1764

Parkman,
*Conspiracy
of Pontiac*

last, in 1764, Pontiac's league was broken up and terms of peace were arranged with most of the tribes.

The Seven Years War in India

Preceding
circumstances

In India, as well as in America, the ambitions of France suffered defeat. She had acquired a slender footing in that country about 1674, by the purchase of ground and the founding of a small settlement at Pondicherry, on the Carnatic coast. Until the time of the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, this little French colony had seemed too unimportant to arouse jealousy on the part of the English, or the least alarm. But when, in that war, Madras was taken from them (though restored at the end), and they failed in a retaliating attack on Pondicherry, they began to realize that the French, as neighbors in Hindostan, must be taken into account. A new conception, too, of the opportunities of the Indian field was awakened in French minds. An energetic governor at Pondicherry, Dupleix by name, saw what advantages might be gained by interfering in the perpetual native wars that were ruining India more and more. He disciplined a body of native troops, brought it to a state of great efficiency, and began using it in alliances which decided many neighboring conflicts, with an immense promotion of French influence and power.

The French
in the
Carnatic

Decay of the
Moghul
empire

The Moghul empire was now far gone in a decline that began in Aurungzebe's time. That monarch had to strive with incessant revolts, particularly in the southern part of India, known as the Deccan. In the central and western sections of that region the Hindu population was persistent in insurrections until, under the name of Mahrattas, it established a formidable independent power. The ruin of the empire was hastened by an invasion, in 1739, from Persia, where a famous soldier of fortune, Nadir Shah, had won the throne. Nadir took Delhi, butchered many thousands of its inhabitants, stripped it of all the wealth he could remove, and returned to his own country, leaving a nominal "great moghul" on the throne, but one whose sovereignty was almost destroyed. "The different provinces and viceroyalties went their own natural way; they were parcelled out in a scuffle

The
Mahrattas

Nadir
Shah's
invasion,
1739

among revolted governors, rebellious chiefs, leaders of insurgent tribes or sects, religious revivalists, or captains of mercenary bands. The Indian people were becoming a masterless multitude swaying to and fro in the political storm, and clinging to any power, natural or supernatural, that seemed likely to protect them." The opportunity for a strong European race to make itself that protecting and masterful power had been prepared to perfection, and Dupleix, the French governor at Pondicherry, was, apparently, the first to discern the fact.

Lyall,
*Rise of the
British
Dominion
in India*,
ch. iv., sect.
1-2

Among the native princes who had established themselves, with substantial independence, in different parts of the Deccan, the most important was the Nizam-ul-mulk, or imperial viceroy, as he was contented with being styled, whose seat of government was at Hyderabad. In 1748 the throne of that important principality became vacant, and was claimed by rival pretenders, one of whom triumphed and slew his opponent by means of help received from Dupleix. The English, in their neighboring presidency of Madras, lost prestige and influence among the natives by permitting the French to assume such control of this important affair. They were anxious to lend aid to a son of the defeated prince, who held one city, Trichinopoly, where he was besieged by the nawab (nabob) of the Carnatic, one of the vassals of the Nizam; but they had not prepared themselves to cope with the trained sepoy army of Dupleix. Their situation was discouraging in the last degree. Good fortune, however, had brought into their employ a young man, Robert Clive, who was capable of putting a new face on affairs if they gave him the chance, which they did. Clive, originally a clerk in the counting-rooms of the East India Company, had got himself transferred to the more congenial military branch of its service, and was now a commissary of the little force at Madras. He offered to draw the nawab of the Carnatic away from Trichinopoly, by attacking Arcot, his capital, and the Madras authorities allowed him to make the attempt. With 200 British soldiers and 300 sepoys he took Arcot (September, 1751), and held it against 10,000 of the nawab's forces, through a trying siege of fifty days. From this time the prestige

The Nizam

The nawab
of the
Carnatic

Advent of
Robert Clive

Macaulay,
Essays :
Lord Clive

Capture of
Arcot, 1751

and influence of the English went up and that of the French went down, until poor Dupleix was called home in disgrace the next year. Clive, too, went home to England to repair the health which his prodigious exertions had broken, and to receive honors, well earned.

Clive, gov-
ernor of Fort
St. David,
1755

Surajah
Dowlah

"The Black
Hole of
Calcutta "

Clive's
chastisement
of Surajah
Dowlah

In 1755 Clive returned to India, a commissioned lieutenant-colonel in the British army and governor of Fort St. David, one of the possessions of the Company a little south of Pondicherry. Very soon he was called upon to rescue Calcutta from a situation far worse than the one he had redeemed at Madras. In 1756 the viceroyalty of Bengal,—practically an independent principality, like other viceroyalties in the empire,—descended to an ignorant, vicious youth, Surajah Dowlah, who was seized at once with a desire to plunder the English settlement at Calcutta, which he imagined to be full of wealth. Fort William, unprepared to resist the great army he led against it, was taken with ease, and the captive English, one hundred and forty-six in number, were driven, on a night of fierce heat, into the garrison prison-cell, a room only twenty feet square, known since by the dreadfully famous name of "the Black Hole of Calcutta." "Nothing in history or fiction," says Lord Macaulay, "not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night." The survivors were only twenty-three, "ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known," who staggered from the charnel-house in the morning, when the door was opened by the pitiless guards.

Clive was the man chosen at Madras to chastise the perpetrator of this hideous crime. With 900 British troops and 1,500 sepoys, he drove the Bengalee forces from Calcutta and its neighborhood, and then was persuaded by the mercantile representatives of the East India Company to accept terms which the offending nawab was willing to make. But Surajah Dowlah soon gave occasion for distrust, by intriguing with the French, and a conspiracy was entered into with his general, Meer Jaffier, who wished to supplant him on the vice-regal

throne. On the strength of Meer Jaffier's promises, Clive, with 1,000 English and 2,000 sepoys, marched boldly against Moorsshedabad, Surajah Dowlah's capital, and was confronted at the village of Plassey by a native army of 60,000, including 15,000 mounted men. Meer Jaffier showed no sign of the treachery he had promised; but Clive determined, nevertheless, to give battle, and his audacity won the day. The nawab's hosts were routed, and he fled, even abandoning his capital, in disguise. Meer Jaffier, though tardy in joining the English, was enthroned at Moorsshedabad, with a formal patent of investiture obtained from the "great mogul," and Surajah Dowlah was put to death. By shameful treachery on the part of Clive, an influential Hindu, Omichund, who arranged the plot with Meer Jaffier, was cheated of the large reward he had stipulated to be paid.

The battle
of Plassey,
1757

Meer Jaffier

Omichund

Historians in general treat the British Empire in India as dating from the battle of Plassey, fought on the 23d of June, 1757. From that time British authority was supreme in Bengal. The nawab of that great province was a puppet moved by English hands; and very soon the "great mogul" himself was nothing more.

British
supremacy
in Bengal

The French in the Carnatic had now been reinforced heavily, and under a vigorous new commander, Count de Lally, became formidable again. They captured Fort St. David and laid siege to Madras; but were driven off by the timely arrival of a British fleet, while their operations in other quarters were checked by a force which Clive sent against them, under Colonel Ford. In 1759 the command at Madras was taken by Colonel Coote, afterward Sir Eyre Coote, and, within the next two years, that brilliant soldier extinguished the hope of a French dominion in Hindostan. He struck the decisive blow in a battle at Wandewash, and finished his work by capturing Pondicherry in the following year.

Overthrow
of the
French in
India,
1759-1760

Wandewash,
1760

In that year, 1761, the English demonstrated their actual sovereignty in Bengal by deposing Meer Jaffier and seating his son-in-law in his place. The latter failed to understand that he was a puppet, and attempted to break the strings which pulled him; whereupon he was driven out and took refuge with the nawab of Oudh. That

Final
subjection
of the
"great
moghul,"
1764

prince, and the reigning emperor, Shah Aulum, or Alam, adopted his cause, and united their forces, challenging war. To complicate the situation a sepoy mutiny broke out. The mutiny was quelled with a stern hand, by Major Munro, afterward Sir Hector Munro, and the same officer shattered the united armies of the "great moghul" and his vassal of Oudh, at Baxar, in 1764. From that time the imperial figure at Delhi claims little attention in East Indian history, though it remains as a decoration of the stage for almost a century more.

Conquests of England

British
empire in
India

The British triumph in the east, as well as in the west, went almost beyond belief. To use the language of Macaulay, "conquests equalling in rapidity and far surpassing in magnitude those of Cortes and Pizarro, had been achieved." "In the space of three years the English had founded a mighty empire. The French had been defeated in every part of India." "Throughout Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, the authority of the East India Company was more absolute than that of Acbar or Aurungzebe had ever been."

Treaties of
Paris and
Huberts-
burg, 1763

Territorial
cessions of
France

In February, 1763, two treaties of peace were concluded, one at Paris, on the 10th, between England, France and Spain (the latter power having joined France in the war as late as January, 1762); the other at Hubertsburg, on the 15th, between Prussia and Austria. France gave up to England all her possessions in North America, except Louisiana (which passed to Spain), and yielded Minorca. She surrendered, moreover, considerable interests in the West Indies and in Africa. The colonial aspirations of the French were cast down by a blow that was lasting in its effect. Spain ceded Florida and all territory east of the Mississippi to Great Britain, but recovered Havana, which the British had taken in 1762.

British exploration of the Pacific

It was now, when the imperial ambitions of the British government were excited by its first great expansions of exterior dominion, that it began to send out official expe-

ditions for the exploration of the vast uncharted expanses of the Pacific. Commodore Byron, in 1764, and Captains Wallis and Carteret, in 1766, sailed on voyages of search and survey which located some islands not known before, and learned many things of importance to geography and trade. Then came the famous three voyages of Captain Cook, which occupied most of the years from 1768 to 1779. In those voyages the original discoveries of Cook were less important than the careful examinations that he made of many islands and coasts which Portuguese, Dutch and Spanish navigators had seen or visited long before. He explored two thousand miles of the coast of Australia (known then as New Holland), and took formal possession of the country in the name of the king, naming Botany Bay, from the wealth of the botanical collections that were gathered on its shores, and calling the whole region New South Wales. This led, a few years later, to the establishment of an English penal colony, not at Botany Bay, but on the neighboring great harbor of Port Jackson, where the city of Sydney now stands. The English occupation of Australia was thus begun. New Zealand and New Guinea were extensively coasted by Cook; he rediscovered the Hawaiian Islands (sighted more than two centuries before by one Gaetano), and he explored more than two thousand miles of the western North American coast, searching for the long-coveted northern passage from sea to sea.

Voyages of
Captain
Cook,
1768-1779

Possession
taken of
Australia

First convict
settlement,
1788

Prussia and Frederick the Great

As between Prussia and Austria, the glories of the Seven Years War were won entirely by the former. Frederick came out of it, "Frederick the Great," the most famous man of his century, as warrior and as statesman, both. He had defended his little kingdom for seven years against three great powers, and yielded not one acre of its territory. He had raised Prussia to the place in Germany from which her subsequent advance became easy and almost inevitable. But the great fame he earned is spotted with many falsities and much cynical indifference to the commonest ethics of civilization. His greatness

is of that character which requires to be looked at from selected standpoints.

Russia

Another character, somewhat resembling that of Frederick, was now drawing attention on the eastern side of Europe. Since the death of Peter the Great, the interval in Russian history had been covered by six reigns, with a seventh just opening, and the four sovereigns who really exercised power were women. Peter's widow, Catherine I., had succeeded him for two years. His son, Alexis, he had put to death; but Alexis left a son, Peter, to whom Catherine bequeathed the crown. Peter II. died after a brief reign, and the nearest heirs were two daughters of Peter the Great, Anne and Elizabeth. But they were set aside in favor of another Anne—Anne of Courland—daughter of Peter the Great's brother. Anne's reign of ten years was under the influence of German favorites and ministers, and nearly half of it was occupied with a Turkish war, in coöperation with Austria. For Austria the war had most humiliating results, costing her Belgrade, all of Servia, part of Bosnia and part of Wallachia. Russia won back Asov, with fortifications forbidden, and that was all. Anne willed her crown to an infant nephew, who appears in the Russian annals as Ivan VI.; but two regencies were overthrown by palace revolutions within little more than a year, and the second one carried to the throne that princess Elizabeth, younger daughter of Peter the Great, who had been put aside eleven years before. Elizabeth, a woman openly licentious and intemperate, reigned for twenty-one years, during the whole important period of the War of the Austrian Succession, and almost to the end of the Seven Years War. She was bitterly hostile to Frederick the Great, whose sharp tongue had offended her, and she joined Maria Theresa with eagerness in the great effort of revenge, which failed. In the early part of her reign, war with Sweden had been more successful and had added South Finland to the Russian territories. It is claimed for her domestic government that the general prosperity of the country was advanced.

On the death of Elizabeth, near the end of the year

The tzarinas

Catherine I.

Anne

Elizabeth,
1741-1761

Conquest of
South
Finland

1761, the crown passed to her nephew, Peter of Holstein, son of her eldest sister, Anne, who had married the duke of Holstein. This prince had been the recognized heir, living at the Russian court, during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. He was an ignorant boor, and he had become a sot. Since 1744 he had been married to a young German princess of the Anhalt Zerbst family, who took the baptismal name of Catherine when she entered the Greek church. Catherine possessed a superior intellect and a strong character; but the vile court into which she came as a young girl, bound to a disgusting husband, had debauched her in morals and lowered her to its own vileness of life. She gained so great an ascendancy that the court was subservient to her, from the time that her incapable husband, Peter III., succeeded to the throne. He reigned by sufferance for a year and a half, and then he was deposed and put to death. In the deposition, Catherine was the leading actor. Of the subsequent murder, some historians are disposed to acquit her. She did not scruple, at least, to accept the benefit of both deeds, which raised her, alone, to the throne of the tzars.

Catherine
II.

Waliszewski,
*The
Romance of
an Empress*

Deposition
and death
of Peter III.

Great Britain and her colonies under George III.

In October, 1760, the crown of Great Britain passed from George II. to his grandson, George III. It was the year in which France had been driven from both India and America, and the young sovereign found his kingdom expanded suddenly into the greatest of world-empires, dominant in both extremities of the globe and unmatched on the wide sea. There was much in the circumstances of his accession to fill him with the pride of a "grand monarch," and he had been trained by his mother to hold German ideas of the prerogatives of a king. With no small reason, as we have seen, those who leaned to such ideas could look on the English system of ministerial government as an accidental growth of recent years, having no constitutional stamp. The foreignness of the late kings had given their ministers an opportunity to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown; but the accession of an English-born and English-bred sovereign brought that opportunity to an end. The young king was

King
George's
notions of
kinship

taught to believe that such encroachments should be checked.

With not much difficulty, the king's notions of his kingship were carried into the government, sustained by a new Tory party that he drew around him. Pitt and other statesmen of independence were driven out of the cabinet, and it was filled with men known as "the king's friends,"—chief among them Lord Bute, an undistinguished Scotchman, but a special favorite at court. Bute became soon so unpopular that even royal favor could not keep him at the head of affairs, and he withdrew. He was able, however, to name his successor, George Grenville, and Grenville carried the principles of the new Toryism into practice with no hesitating hand. His opening move was an attempt to make criticism of the king's speeches to parliament a punishable offense. One John Wilkes, a member of parliament, and proprietor and conductor of a journal entitled *The North Briton*, presumed to publish such a criticism, and was pursued for years with prosecutions and persecutions that created the most serious political issue of the time. He was not a reputable man; but he was raised to the distinction of a popular hero by the questions of freedom for opinion and speech that were involved in his case. A great constituency in London elected him to parliament again and again, and the house of commons, more servile than the courts of law, refused to admit him to his seat. This went on till public feeling had been excited to a dangerous heat, and, in the end, king, ministers and parliament had to bow to the will of the constituency that elected Wilkes.

The king and "the king's friends" had done badly in their undertakings at home; they did worse in the colonies, so far as ultimate consequences were concerned. Naturally their ideas of colonial policy were the ideas of a paternal government, administered with a stern face, a heavy hand and an unspared rod. Grenville, acting with Charles Townshend, president of the board of trade, began the realizing of those ideas, in 1763, with a proposal to parliament that twenty regiments should be kept in America, at the cost of the colonies after the first year. The next step was a measure authorizing the employment

The
"king's
friends"

Macaulay,
Essays:
Chatham
(2d Essay)

Wilkes,
and the
"North
Briton,"
1763-1774

1774

The king's
colonial
policy



PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

of the navy in the service of the customhouse, to enforce the "acts of trade." The third was a revival, with some amendment, of an exasperating old law, called "the Sugar Act," or "the Molasses Act," which had for its object to prevent the New Englanders from buying sugar or molasses in the French West Indies instead of in the English islands. By exchanging fish, lumber and staves with the French planters for molasses, which they converted into rum and sold elsewhere, the New England merchants were able to obtain money in hand wherewith to buy English goods; and this was their principal source of cash. Former English governments had seen that the Molasses Act would strike a stupid blow at English as well as colonial trade, and it had not been enforced, until Grenville and Townshend took it up and made it an effective irritant of colonial discontent. A fourth measure in the same year was the immediate act of the king, who issued a proclamation ordering all white settlers away from the region west of the Alleghenies, setting apart that whole vast domain, just wrested from France, for the use of the Indian tribes, proposing thus to bar the colonies from any further westward growth.

Then came the crowning measure of the new colonial policy, in the famous "Stamp Act," foreshadowed in 1764 by a series of "declaratory resolves," and made law in the following spring. This long-threatened and long-postponed taxation by parliament of an unrepresented people roused only some vigorous remonstrance in the colonies at first; but feeling warmed against it as the time for introducing the obnoxious stamps drew near, especially after the famous speech of Patrick Henry, in Virginia, had been published far and wide. A congress of delegates, held at New York, in October, 1765, adopted a temperate declaration of "the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists," while less orderly people, forming associations called "Sons of Liberty," indulged in demonstrations that became riotous at times, and that led in a few instances, at Boston and elsewhere, to shameful doings by senseless mobs. Generally, the officials appointed to sell the stamps were frightened into resigning, and a large part of the stamps sent out were

The
Molasses
Act, 1763

Lecky,
*History of
England,
18th
Century*, 3 :
332-337

Exclusion of
settlers
from the
west

The Stamp
Act, 1765

Hosmer,
*Life of
Thomas
Hutchinson*,
ch. iv

Patrick
Henry

"Sons of
Liberty"

Non-
importation
agreements

destroyed; but the most effectual expression of colonial feeling was in agreements to wear homespun and to use no English-made goods. This was done to an extent that became serious to English trade. British merchants and manufacturers were thus aroused against the Stamp Act, bringing an influence that helped Pitt and other statesmen, who opposed the measure on principle, to bring about its repeal.

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act, 1766

Before this occurred, Grenville had lost favor with the king and a more moderate cabinet had been formed. It was this ministry, under the marquis of Rockingham, that carried the repeal of the offensive act; but parliament, at the same time, recorded a formal assertion of its right to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The Rockingham ministry was short-lived, and gave way to one which Pitt was persuaded to lend his name to, but over which he exercised no control. He was broken in health, and gave up service in the house of commons, accepting a peerage as earl of Chatham, and Charles Townshend, champion of a rigorous colonial policy, became the ruling spirit in the government. Townshend's measures, which parliament made law for him, were sharp. By one bill he imposed duties in the colonies on wine, oil, fruits, glass, paper, lead, painters' colors and tea, for a revenue to support civil government in them and provide for their defense. By another he created a colonial civil list of crown officials, dependent wholly on the pleasure of the king. These and other measures of the same antagonism to local self-government aroused even more feeling than the Stamp Act had done. The feeling was deepened profoundly by a series of "Farmer's Letters," as they came to be known, published by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, in which the "dangerous innovation" of the Townshend acts was discussed in a soberly impressive way. Another powerful influence on colonial feeling was exercised at this time by addresses to the king and his ministers, and by circular letters to the colonial assemblies, sent forth by the Massachusetts assembly, probably all from the vigorous pen of Samuel Adams, who now stands forth, a commanding figure in the American history of the next few years.

Pitt made
earl of
Chatham

Town-
shend's
measures

Dickinson's
"Farmer's
Letters"

Samuel
Adams

Hosmer,
*Samuel
Adams*,
ch. 7



DEATH OF EARL OF CHATHAM

Once more an effectual pressure on the sensitive nerves of British commerce was brought to bear, by a systematic organization of agreements to abstain from the use of English-made goods. Virginia led the way in this movement, and Washington drew up the resolutions that gave it form. Townshend was now dead, and Lord North, who succeeded him as the mouthpiece of the king's wishes, gave way to the renewed complaints of the business world, and proposed a repeal of all the Townshend duties except the duty on tea. It was the king's demand that the tea duty should remain "as a mark of the supremacy of parliament," and parliament obeyed his wish. This deprived the repeal of any conciliatory effect, and became a cause of new alienations which nothing could repair.

Repeal of
duties except
on tea, 1770

On the day of Lord North's motion (March 5, 1770) for the partial repeal of the Townshend Act, Boston was the scene of a deplorable collision between some of the king's troops, quartered in that city, and a crowd of rude people, who provoked them by insulting jeers. The angry soldiers fired and killed six, wounding five more. This "massacre," as it was styled, gave rise to intense excitement, and the governor was compelled to remove the soldiers from the town; but no grave consequences ensued. The next two years were peaceable generally, except in North Carolina, where a body of frontier settlers, having some grievances of their own against the government of the province, were in arms, under the name of "Regulators," until defeated in a fierce battle on the Alamance.

The
"Boston
massacre,"
March 5,
1770

North
Carolina
Regulators

The next agitation of feeling in Massachusetts was occasioned by an order from the king that the judges in that province, whose appointments had already been made subject to his majesty's pleasure, should take their salaries from the crown. Anxiety was deepened by this new blow at the independence of the judiciary; and it was now that an effective organization of the patriotic party throughout the colony was set on foot by Samuel Adams, who planned a system of "committees of correspondence" to be formed in every town. The committees were kept in constant communication and coöperation with the Boston leaders, of whom Samuel and John Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren

1772

Committees
of corre-
spondence,
1772-1773

Hosmer,
*Samuel
Adams*,
190-206

and John Hancock were the recognized chiefs. Virginia adopted and enlarged the idea of such committees, weaving the system into a strong intercolonial bond.

The king's
cheaped
tea

Generally the duty on tea was evaded, either by smuggling from Holland or by abstention from the use of the herb. King George or his ministers conceived a scheme for inducing the obstinate colonists to swallow taxed tea, by means of the payment of a drawback in England to the East India Company, on tea sent to America, thus enabling its agents to undersell the smugglers from the Dutch. Such an arrangement was made, and several cargoes of tea were shipped to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. In the three cities last named the consignees of these tea cargoes were persuaded by the patriot party to decline receiving them; but the Boston consignees refused consent to such a course, and the governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Hutchinson, would not permit the ships to be sent back. Thereupon, after a great town meeting, presided over by Samuel Adams, a resolute body of men, partly disguised as Indians, proceeded to the ships, broke open the tea chests and poured their contents into the sea.

The
"Boston
tea party,"
Dec. 6, 1773

Punishment
of Boston
and Massa-
chusetts,
1774

Trevelyan,
*The
American
Revolution*,
1: ch. v

Naturally there was wrath in government circles when news of the Boston doings reached England, and no time was lost in making provision for the punishment of the offending province and town. By one act the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, the authority of the royal governor and his council was made supreme, and town meetings were forbidden to be held without the governor's permit. By another, the port of Boston was closed against the entrance or clearance of any ship. Events now moved rapidly toward the crisis of armed revolt. General Gage, with four additional regiments, was sent to Boston to supersede Governor Hutchinson and place Massachusetts under military rule. He was instructed to arrest Adams and other leaders and send them to England for trial; but prudence led him to postpone the attempt. Boston, while suffering severely from the destruction of its trade, received liberal contributions of aid, as well as warm messages of encouragement and sympathy, from every side.

Virginia declared the attack on Massachusetts to be an

attack on all the colonies, needing to be resisted by all, and advised the holding of a "continental congress,"—that is, a congress representative of all the English colonies on the continent,—and the advice was approved. The first continental congress was assembled accordingly at Philadelphia, in September, 1774, including Washington in its membership, and many more whose names were to become famous in the coming years. The action of the congress was temperate but firm. It adopted a Declaration of Rights, setting forth the claim of the people of America to "a free and exclusive power of legislation in their provincial legislatures . . . in all cases of taxation and internal polity"; together with a respectful petition to the king, an address to the people of England, and another to the people of British America, including Quebec. To the English people it was said: "Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness;" and this expressed, without doubt, the feeling of a large majority of the Americans of the day, though great numbers had grown hopeless by this time of the freedom described. The resolutions of the congress recommended that the support of "all America" be given to Massachusetts, in her opposition to the oppressive measures against her government; and it instituted a new movement of commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain, organizing an association to give it effect. The agreements of the association included a pledge to discontinue the importation of slaves after the first day of the next December.

In Massachusetts, General Gage was making little headway in his undertaking to bring the province under military rule. He suppressed the regular meetings of its assembly, but the members met elsewhere as a convention, or congress, and established, practically, a provisional government, under a "committee of safety," with Dr. Warren at its head. The committee exercised an authority which Gage could not bring to bear. He lacked officials to serve him, few Tories being bold enough to accept commissions at his hands. As for arresting the patriot leaders, a public convention in Suffolk County gave notice

The first
continental
congress,
1774

Morse,
John
Adams, ch.
ii

Expressions
of the
congress

Commercial
non-inter-
course
renewed

Massachu-
setts
"committee
of safety"

"Minute
men"

that the crown officers in the province would be seized and held as hostages if a single arrest for political reasons should be made. Behind such resolves there was a vigorous activity in the collection of military stores and in organizing the militia, which the committee was empowered to call out,—one fourth of the embodied militia to be styled "minute men," and to be always ready for instant obedience to any call. Similar armed organizations were springing up in all parts of the land.

The
"embattled
farmers" at
Lexington
and
Concord,
April 19.
1775

Fiske,
*American
Revolution*,
I: 120-126

British
forces
beleaguered
in Boston

The colonies
in arms

Second
continental
congress,
1775

Proof of the alertness of the minute men and the efficiency of the militia system in Massachusetts was given on the 19th of the next April (1775), when 800 British troops, sent out from Boston by General Gage, to capture Sam. Adams and Hancock, at Lexington, and to seize certain military stores at Concord, were encountered by the "embattled farmers," who "fired the shot heard round the world." It is needless to repeat the familiar tale of that first bloodshed on Lexington green, of the fight at Concord, of the pitiful suffering of the king's troops in their retreat to Boston, ambushed by an enraged people along the whole road. Ninety-three of the Americans and 273 of the British fell that day, and the War of American Independence was begun.

As fast as the news of battle could spread, minute men from every part of New England were on the march toward Boston, and Gage found himself beleaguered by 13,000 before the end of the week. At New York, when the Sons of Liberty heard of Lexington, they rose and took control of the city. Even the Quakers of Philadelphia were moved by the excitement of the event to prepare for war. In Virginia and South Carolina the patriots had already taken arms to secure the military stores in those provinces, and were actually in revolt. As quickly as the travel of the time could bring it, the New Englanders had assurances of support from every British-American community except Quebec; and the same assurance was repeated by collective action of the colonies in the second continental congress, which assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Again the congress addressed a respectful petition to King George, and a calm declaration of "the causes and necessity for taking

up arms"; but it made common cause with New England in the hostilities already begun, adopted the forces in arms as a "continental army," and, by an inspiration that can never be thought of without wonder and awe, it appointed George Washington to the chief command. To that appointment, more than to all other causes combined, the success of the struggle for American independence was due.

Appointment of Washington to chief command, June 15, 1775

In nothing else was the action of the continental congress so wise. "While assuming the responsibilities of the impending struggle, it assumed no power to enforce an order it might give, or authority to levy a dollar of taxation for the expenses incurred. Its whole exercise of a nominal authority to direct the common action of the thirteen colonies was left dependent on the willingness of each provincial government to be submissive to its advice. . . . State governments, when formed, became the only governments felt and known in reality by the people, who struggled through their war of independence with nothing that could be called a governing head."

Timidity of the congress

Holst, *Constitutional Law of the U. S.*, 5-12

Larned, *History of the United States*, 199-200

As far as one commanding personality could make good the defect in government, Washington supplied it, by his massive strength of character. Without that majestic influence in the struggle, one finds it very hard to believe that the American cause would have escaped wreck. But the strain on him who gave it was such as has tested the greatness of very few men. Let those who would know what he was to his country, what difficulties he contended with, what slender means he worked with, through what disheartenments he kept his courage and his faith,—let them read his correspondence and take the painful record from his own pen.

Washington's greatness

China

The protection which the Christian missionaries had enjoyed in China under Kanghi was withdrawn by his successor, and they were exposed to the hostility of the literati and the important "board of rites." Excepting a few Jesuits who were employed in public services, and whose knowledge was too useful to be dispensed with, they were sent to the Portuguese settlement at Macao, and more than three hundred churches were destroyed.

Expulsion of missionaries

Douglas,
China, 135

Replying to a deputation from the missionaries, who remonstrated against these measures, the emperor asked them: "What would you say if I were to send a troop of bonzes and lamas into your country to preach their doctrines? How would you receive them?" Their answer is not recorded.

Under the fourth of the Manchu sovereigns, Keen-lung, Kashgar and Yarkand were added to the empire by conquest, and both Burmah and Cochin China were made tributary states.

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE ADVENT OF WASHINGTON IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO HIS DEATH

(1775 TO 1799)

Continuity of revolutionary influence from the English Long Parliament to the French States-general. *The War of American Independence*: Campaigns and battles of the war.—Discouraging conditions.—Trials of Washington.—Surrender of Cornwallis.—Treaty of peace. “*The critical period of American history*:” Weakness of the Confederation.—Framing and adoption of the federal constitution. *The British empire*: Hostilities with France, Spain and Holland.—Wars in India.—Concessions to Ireland.—Industrial revolution in Great Britain. *France*: The approaching political revolution.—Its causes.—Its outbreak.—Meeting of the States-general.—Assumption of supremacy by the third estate.—The Girondists.—The Jacobins.—Overthrow of the monarchy.—Execution of the king.—Fall of the Girondists.—Crusade against all monarchies.—“The reign of terror.”—The Jacobin factions devouring one another.—End of “the terror.”—Advent of Napoleon Bonaparte.—His campaign in Italy.—His expedition to Egypt, and return.—His domination as first consul. *The Partitioning of Poland*: The three partitions. *The United States of America*: Organization of federal government under Washington.—Financial measures of Hamilton.—Lasting division of political parties.—Troubles with England and France.—Administration of John Adams.—Overthrow of the Federalists. *British America*: The Quebec Act.—United Empire Loyalists.—Act of 1791.

In this last quarter of the eighteenth century, the period we have described as an “epoch of political revolutions” was rounded to a startling close. The epoch had been opened, in the first half of the preceding century, by a movement of revolution in England, where long-nurtured principles and practices in government, politically favorable to the people, were developed suddenly, by exciting violations, into a precocious and untimely republicanism. Discredited by unfortunate results, they seemed for a time to lose their hold in the English mind; but the reaction did not last to the end of the generation in which it occurred. Then came the vigorous revival of 1688, which, acting on more moderate lines, carried forward

The
rounding
out of the
revolution-
ary epoch

From the
English
revolutions
to the
American

From the
American to
the French

the attempted revolution of 1649, not to the construction of an impracticable republic, but to a monarchy constitutionally restrained. On that formulation and affirmation of English principles in government, the people of the English colonies in America began to make claims of right to a measure of provincial self-government which the home country would not concede. From the consequent breach came the American revolution, in which English political principles were pressed finally to their logical conclusion, and realized in a democratic republic. This fired the train which exploded a passionate discontent in France, with shattering effects in Europe on hoary structures of absolutism, far and wide. One by one they went down in the next century, to be replaced by constitutional governments, so universally that the few exceptions now remaining are but marks of the survival of a half-civilized social state. From the English Long Parliament of 1640 to the French States-general of 1789, the continuity of the revolutionary influence is plainly to be traced.

The War of American Independence

Fiske, *The
American
Revolution*

Trevelyan, *The
American
Revolution*

Battle of
Bunker
Hill, June
17, 1775

Before Washington assumed command of the American army, which he did at Cambridge, on the 2d of July, two important events of war had occurred. Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been surprised and captured in May, by Ethan Allen and the "Green Mountain Boys" of Vermont, giving two hundred cannon to the provincials, with a quantity of ammunition and other stores; and the battle of Bunker Hill had been fought. A defeat that had the influence of a victory was experienced in the Bunker Hill fight. The New Englanders besieging Boston had been driven from a position they attempted to secure; but their raw militiamen had repulsed two assaults by British veterans, inflicting a loss more than double their own, and giving good proof of the firmness of their nerve. The worst consequence of the battle was the death of Dr. Warren, who joined the defenders of the hill as a volunteer.

While Washington labored for months to form an effective army for operations against the British in Bos-

ton, two expeditions were sent into Canada, which had no useful result, but cost some valuable lives, including that of General Richard Montgomery, who fell in an assault on Quebec. Meantime, King George was heating and hardening the rebellious temper of the colonies by hiring Hessians and other German soldiers for service against them, and Thomas Paine, a late comer to Philadelphia from England, was persuading them to declare for independence, in his powerful pamphlet, entitled "Common Sense." At the beginning of March, Washington felt prepared, with men, guns, and ammunition, for an aggressive move. On the night of the 4th he seized and fortified a position on Dorchester Heights which compelled General Howe, who had superseded Gage, to evacuate Boston, sailing to Halifax with his army and with 900 of his Tory friends.

Expedition
to Canada

Hessian
mercenaries

Paine's
"Common
Sense"

British
evacuation
at Boston,
March, 1776

With all possible haste, Washington moved the greater part of his army to New York, assuming what he recognized, then and always throughout the war, as his most important task,—namely, that of holding the valley of the Hudson against the British, to prevent their cutting New England from connection and coöperation with the middle and southern colonies, and to separate them, at the same time, from their savage allies, the Six Nations of the Iroquois. But the American commander could take to New York no more than about 8,000 men, while Howe, at Halifax, was preparing a large army for his next campaign, backed by a powerful fleet. Till late in summer, however, all things looked cheering on the American side. One by one, in May and June, the several colonies declared for independence, and before June ended there were seven which had organized independent governments, based on "the authority of the people," thus casting their colonial swaddling clothes and taking on the political vesture of American States.

Washington
defending
the Hudson

The forming
of colonies
into States

It was then, on the Fourth of July, 1776, that the general wish for a united Declaration of Independence was obeyed by the continental congress, and the republic of the United States of America proclaimed itself to the world. The Declaration was received everywhere with rejoicing, heightened by news from Charleston, where a

Declaration
of Independ-
ence, July 4,
1776

British
repulse at
Charleston,
June 28,
1776

Retreat of
Washington
from New
York

Intrigues
against him

His retreat
into Penn-
sylvania,
Dec., 1776

British fleet, attempting to enter the harbor, had been repulsed by a rude log fort on Sullivan's Island, defended by Colonel Moultrie with 1,200 men. But these were the last good tidings that rejoiced the country for almost half a year. The end of July brought Howe, with 30,000 troops, and his brother, Vice-Admiral Howe, with a great fleet, into New York Bay, and Washington was overwhelmed. He had collected about 20,000 men, but they were mostly undisciplined and poorly equipped, in comparison with the army of Howe. Defeated on the 27th of August, in a battle on Long Island, which expelled them from Brooklyn Heights, the Americans retreated from New York up the river to positions among the hills.

Then came the first of the dark periods of the war,—a time, as Paine expressed it, "that tried men's souls." Washington was assailed with hostile criticism and undermined by jealous intrigues, congress taking a discreditable part in both. Subordinate officers were encouraged to disregard the orders of the commander-in-chief. A military adventurer from England, Charles Lee, unfortunately commissioned among the American major-generals, and supposed to be a great soldier, became especially mischievous; and the whole situation was deplorably wrong. Washington, as a consequence, was compelled, at the beginning of December, to retreat from the Hudson (maintaining forts, however, on the upper parts of the river), falling back, through New Jersey, until he had placed the Delaware between the pursuing enemy and himself. The short terms of so many of his men had expired that hardly 3,000 remained in his immediate command. And now it was that the high qualities of this great soldier and great man received their first full proof. The almost ruined cause of the States was borne up by his grand courage and faith. He and his officers borrowed money on the pledge of their private estates for the pay of their men, to keep them in the field. By Christmas he had got together 6,000, and planned to recover the ground he had lost. His pursuers, commanded by Lord Cornwallis, were waiting carelessly for the ice in the river to bridge them over it, and let them strike what they expected to make a finishing blow. Suddenly, on Christmas eve,

Washington forced a crossing of the half-frozen river, with boats enough to land himself and 2,400 of his troops on the Jersey shore; marched through a sleety winter storm to Trenton; surprised and captured 1,000 Hessians, with abundant stores; slipped from the fingers which Cornwallis felt certain of closing upon him; took more prisoners and more stores at Princeton, and moved on to a secure position at Morristown; recovering from the enemy, in a campaign of ten days, all the advantages they had gained from his temporary retreat.

Washington
resumes the
offensive,
Dec.-Jan.,
1776-1777

His success

The helpful effect of this brilliant operation, at home and abroad, was immense. It decided the French government to give secret aid to the States, in money, stores, and privateers, and it inspired fresh confidence in America, when the next serious undertaking of the British was faced. This was an invasion from Canada, attempted in the summer of 1777, to meet a northward movement from New York, and to gain possession of the Hudson from end to end. The story of Burgoyne's invasion and its defeat,—of the obstructing of his march by forces under General Schuyler; of the cutting of his communications with Canada by New England and New York militiamen, directed by General Lincoln; of the disastrous fate of St. Leger's column, coming by way of Lake Ontario and the Mohawk to join him; of the failure of Howe to move northward from New York and meet him; of the victory won by shirt-sleeved farmers at Bennington, under Stark; of the two desperate battles which Burgoyne was forced to fight at Freeman's Farm, on Bemis Heights, near Saratoga, and of his surrender, on the 17th of October, with 6,000 men,—the story is too long to be told in this place. Undeserved credit for the great success was won by General Horatio Gates, an intriguing officer, whom congress had put in Schuyler's place, and who came on the scene after the fate of Burgoyne had practically been sealed. Schuyler had directed the resistance to Burgoyne with great prudence and skill, and the glory of the two victories on Bemis Heights belonged to Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan; but the laurels were carried off by General Gates, who became now an intriguing and strongly backed candidate for Washington's place.

Helpful
effects of the
campaign

Burgoyne's
invasion,
defeat and
surrender,
July-Oct.,
1777

General
Gates

Howe's
movement
on
Philadelphia

Battle of
the
Brandywine,
Sept. 11,
1777

The winter
at Valley
Forge,
1777-1778

The
"Conway
cabal"

Alliance
with France,
Feb., 1778

When General Howe should have been moving up the Hudson to coöperate with Burgoyne, he turned his army in the contrary direction and effected a useless capture of Philadelphia. Orders directing him to meet Burgoyne had been pigeon-holed in London by a careless minister, and, acting on his own judgment, he went wildly astray. Washington hindered and delayed the Philadelphia movement to the best of his ability, forcing the British general to transport his troops by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay; but when he fought them at the Brandywine his forces were not adequate and he gave way. Howe entered Philadelphia, and congress fled to York. A week later, Washington attempted to surprise the British headquarters, in the Germantown suburb, by a night attack, but his plans were spoiled by disastrous mishaps.

Howe passed the winter with gayety in Philadelphia; Washington placed his army in winter-quarters at Valley Forge, on the Schuylkill, twenty-one miles away. That winter of 1777-8 is memorable for the sufferings of the half-clad and ill-fed American army, and for the sore personal trials of its great-souled commander-in-chief. To shallow lookers-on, the latter seemed to have done nothing to be compared with the boasted exploit of Gates at Saratoga, and intrigues to supplant him were begun anew. Congress was tainted deeply by the envies and ignorances at the root of the intrigue; for many of its high-minded and able men had left their seats for service abroad or in the several States. As for the Gates faction in the army,—called the "Conway cabal," from the active prominence of a certain General Conway,—it was virulent, but not large. The conspiracy had no substantial success, and it was not long in so exposing its own meanness of spirit, by contrast with the loftiness of character in Washington, that public opinion crushed it with contempt.

The time was far from being altogether one of darkness on the American side; for France, in February, signed a treaty of open alliance with the United States, challenging England to war, which the latter declared in the following month. Personal alliances, too, of great value to the cause, had been formed of late. Lafayette, with his fine

temper, his warm enthusiasm, his affectionate admiration of Washington, his useful influence in France,—Steuben, with his Prussian training, and his thorough military knowledge,—De Kalb and Pulaski, with their splendid valor,—had come to give their services to the young republic,—two of them to die in its defense.

Lafayette,
Steuben,
De Kalb,
Pulaski

Spring brought overtures of peace from Great Britain, but not the recognition of independence, without which no peace could be made. Military operations were reopened in June, when Sir Henry Clinton, who had superseded Howe in the British command, abandoned the useless occupation of Philadelphia, moving back to New York. Washington broke camp and pursued, with an army about equal to that in retreat. At Monmouth Court House, New Jersey, he overtook the enemy and prepared to attack; but, unfortunately, his advance was commanded by General Charles Lee, who is now known to have been treacherous on former occasions, and who acted, probably, with traitorous intentions again. Lee's bewildering orders produced a disorderly retreat, instead of an attack, until Washington reached the front and saved the army from disaster; but the promising opportunity for an important stroke was lost. Clinton made his way to New York, and the military situation in that region settled to inactivity for the remainder of the war. Washington kept his post at the center of the whole field, specially on guard over the Hudson, while detaching forces from his immediate command to meet exigencies at other points.

Battle of
Monmouth
Court
House,
June 28,
1778

Washington
again
guarding
the Hudson

Plans of coöperation with a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, in a movement on New York, were baffled by the inability of the larger French vessels to cross the bar. There was failure, too, in a subsequent undertaking with the French fleet, in the same summer (1778), to dislodge the British from Newport, their sole foothold, outside of New York, in the whole thirteen States. Marauding parties from Newport and New York continued to harass the New England coast, and this, for a long period, was the only warfare conducted by the regular British forces in any part of the north. But bands of malignant Tories, who had taken refuge in western New York and Canada, with their headquarters at Fort Niagara, led war parties

Tory and
Indian raids

Sullivan's
expedition

of Indians in savage raids upon Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and other frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and New York. In the summer of 1779 General Sullivan was sent by Washington into western New York, with a force of 5,000 men, to chastise the white-skinned and red-skinned barbarians who did this bloody work. Sullivan executed his commission relentlessly, so far as the offending Indians in the Genesee valley were concerned, but Fort Niagara was not reached.

Clark's
western
conquests

Farther west, a young surveyor, George Rogers Clark, commissioned by Governor Patrick Henry, of Virginia, and leading a small force of hardy frontier riflemen, had been operating in an independent way since the summer of 1778. Clark captured the British posts at Kaskaskia and Cahokia, on the Mississippi, and Vincennes, on the Wabash, thereby establishing claims of conquest which assumed importance when boundaries were in question at the end of the war.

Roosevelt,
*Winning of
the West*,
1: ch. x, 2:
ch. i, iii, viii

Naval
exploits of
Paul Jones,
1779

At sea the British possessed every advantage, and their commerce suffered little from American privateers, compared with the destruction they were able to inflict on American trade. But Captain Paul Jones, a Scotch sailor, commissioned by the continental congress and equipped in 1779 with a small squadron, in France, began then to make himself a terror to the British coasts, as well as to British merchant fleets. The desperate battle of his flagship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, with the English frigate *Scrapis*, in September, that year, is one of the heroic incidents of the war.

British
subjugation
of Georgia
and South
Carolina,
1778-1779

The main seat of war had now been transferred by the British to the southern States. Beginning near the close of the year 1778 with the capture of Savannah, they accomplished, substantially, the subjugation of Georgia and South Carolina in the course of the next eighteen months. An attempt by General Lincoln, commanding in the south, and Count d'Estaing, with the French fleet, to recover Savannah, in the fall of 1779, failed, with the loss of a thousand men. Count Pulaski, the gallant Pole, was among those who fell in a disastrous assault. In the following spring Sir Henry Clinton, coming from New York with heavy reinforcements, inclosed Lincoln and his

army in Charleston and captured the whole. Soon after that important exploit he returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis in the southern command. The condition of South Carolina was then pitiable in the extreme. In attempts to compel the entire people to swear allegiance to King George, and to give active assistance to the king's troops, a cruel hunting of stubborn patriots was carried on. The war assumed a partisan or guerrilla character, more than elsewhere or at any other time; and the adventures of Marion, Sumter, and other dashing captains of small bands, who harassed Tarleton and Ferguson, the active commanders of British and Tory forces, have given to revolutionary history some of its most romantic tales.

British
capture of
Charleston,
May, 1780

Partisan
warfare in
South
Carolina

Against the wish of Washington, congress sent Gates to command in the south, and he made the situation worse by rushing his small army to dreadful defeat and destruction at Camden, where De Kalb came to his death.

Gates in the
south

At this time the discouragements of the country were, apparently, the heaviest it had known. Congress had issued paper promises ("continental currency," so-called), based on no resources of taxation or any substantial authority, until that fictitious money had lost all worth. Most of the States had been doing the same. Of real money there was almost none in the land. There was no public credit; there was no foreign trade. Washington was driven to the levying of forced contributions for the feeding of his men, who received no pay, practically, and little promise of any to come. Desertions were increasing and recruits were few. Six thousand French troops, under General Rochambeau, had arrived at Newport (from which the British withdrew in the previous autumn), but the fleet that brought them was blockaded immediately, and they were held to support it if attacked. To crown these many disheartenments came the discovery of the treason planned by Benedict Arnold, then commanding at West Point. Arnold's services as a soldier had been very great, and men less deserving had been put above him in rank. He brooded over his grievances till they poisoned his soul, and he became willing to ruin the cause of his country for the sake of revenge. West Point

Discourage-
ments of
the time,
1780

Arrival of a
French army

Treason of
Benedict
Arnold,
Sept., 1780

Fate of
Major
André

was the American stronghold on the Hudson; to lose it was to lose all that Washington had guarded so carefully and so long. Arnold sought and obtained the command there, for the purpose of betraying the fort, and had arranged all the details of the betrayal with Major John André, of Sir Henry Clinton's staff, who came to confer with him inside of the American lines. The unfortunate André was captured on his way back to New York, and suffered death as a spy. The traitor, Arnold, received warning of the discovery of his plot in time to escape.

Battle of
King's
Mountain,
Oct. 7, 1780

The darkest hours were now past, and there began to be a breaking of light in the south,—the herald of a coming day of independence and peace. Its first gleam shone from the mountain border of the Carolinas, where the British major Ferguson, pursuing armed patriots too vigorously, stirred up the Scotch-Irish and Huguenot frontiersmen, who had taken no part, hitherto, in the war. They swarmed out of their mountain settlements, and Ferguson, with 400 of his men, fell in battle with them, at King's Mountain. This was the beginning of events that wrought a complete change in the situation at the south. Washington was permitted in December to send General Nathanael Greene to supersede Gates, with Daniel Morgan and Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry," father of Robert E. Lee), in subordinate commands. Morgan defeated Tarleton in a remarkable battle at the Cowpens, and Greene fought Cornwallis at Guilford Court House, with sufficient success to hold his ground, while the latter withdrew to Wilmington, and moved presently into Virginia, leaving others to contest the Carolinas with Greene. Within a few months that able general, winning good fruits even from battles that were not victories, at Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs, wrested both States from the enemy, excepting only the city of Charleston.

General
Greene's
campaign in
the south,
1781

Greene,
Life of
General
Greene, 3:
bk. 4

Beginning of
the end

While Greene achieved deliverance for the Carolinas, the last and grandest act in the drama of war was performed, by other actors, on the Virginia stage. Considerable British forces had been ravaging the eastern parts of Virginia for some months before Cornwallis came to join them, at Petersburg, in May. Lafayette, at Richmond, was opposing them with a little army of about

3,000 men, and Steuben was raising and organizing a few more. Lafayette retreated when Cornwallis moved against him, and was pursued, the British laying waste a wide region of country, almost to the Rapidan. Then Cornwallis committed the fatal error of returning to the seaboard and taking a position with his army at Yorktown, in the narrow part of the peninsula between the York River and the James. It was a safe position so long as the British controlled the sea; but, unknown to Cornwallis, a strong French fleet was expected from the West Indies at this time, for a planned attack on New York. Washington saw instantly that something better than the movement against New York could be done with the help of this fleet. Concerting arrangements with the French admiral, Count de Grasse, and with Rochambeau, the French general, while deceiving Sir Henry Clinton, at New York, he suddenly transferred 2,000 of his own troops and 4,000 of Rochambeau's, with great celerity, from the Hudson to the James. Lafayette had followed Cornwallis and was intrenched in his rear, and the French fleet had secured possession of Chesapeake Bay. The trap was complete. At the end of a short, sharp siege, the English commander, hopeless of relief, surrendered, with a few more than 8,000 men.

Lafayette in
Virginia

Cornwallis
trapped at
Yorktown

Surrender of
Cornwallis,
Oct. 19, 1781

This blow broke the party in England which upheld the American War, drove Lord North and his colleagues to resign, and forced the king to accept ministers who desired peace. A private agent, sent to Paris, opened conferences there with Dr. Franklin, which led to more formal negotiations between commissioners from both governments, and, finally, to the signing of a provisional treaty, at Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782. This was not to have effect, however, till the arrangement of peace between Great Britain and France, which came to completion on the third of September, 1783. By the definite treaty then signed, the United States secured western territory to the Mississippi, and from the Floridas to the Great Lakes; but with northeastern and northwestern boundaries so ill-defined that they gave trouble for many years. Important rights were conceded to American fishermen on the British-American coasts. On

The effect in
England,
March, 1782

Negotiation
of peace,
1782-1783

Lecky,
*History of
England,*
18th
Century,
4: 218-232,
243-255, 275-
284

Terms of
the treaty

Treatment
of American
loyalists

Ellis, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
Am.*, v. 7

Their
character

Debts due
to British
creditors

Disbanding
the
continental
army

Retirement
of Washing-
ton, Dec.,
1783

two questions, serious difficulties in the framing of the treaty arose from the want of any national authority in the government of the loose confederation of the United States. One related to the treatment of the American loyalists, or Tories, against whom the bitter feeling in most of the States led to cruelly persecuting acts, confiscating their property and driving them from their homes. Some of these people had provoked that feeling by malignant and barbarous hostilities in the war; but a large part of them were men of character and culture, whose loyalty to Great Britain had been conscientious, and whose expulsion from the country was a serious mistake. The British government felt bound to protect them; but that of the United States had no power to control the action of the States, and could only promise the exercise of an influence which proved to have no effect. On the other question, relating to debts that were due to British creditors when the war began, the difficulty was the same. The treaty stipulated that those creditors should meet with no lawful impediment in the collection of their dues; but many of the States interposed such impediments, and congress was powerless to interfere. These matters became irritating for many years, provoking the English government to refuse the surrender of a number of important frontier and western forts.

When the time came for disbanding the continental army, nothing but the personal influence of Washington prevented a dangerous outbreak of bad feeling, stirred up by some mischievous agitators, in consequence of the arrears of pay that were due to officers and men. Thanks to the illimitable trust reposed in the great commander-in-chief, a pacifying arrangement was brought about and the army was dissolved. Washington took leave of his officers at New York on the 4th of December, 1783, resigned his commission to congress, at Annapolis, submitted a statement of the large expenditures he had made from his private fortune on public account, exceeding \$64,000, and declined all pay beyond the reimbursement of that sum. On Christmas eve he reached his home at Mount Vernon, which he had seen but once in eight years.



WASHINGTON RESIGNING COMMAND OF THE ARMY

The critical period of American history

And now the United States entered on what Dr. Fiske has described correctly as being "the critical period of American history." The States were United only in name. They had taken their place among the nations without being a nation, in any right sense of the term. They had no government that could exercise a national authority or power. Their congress could pledge nothing to any other government and guarantee that some or all of the States would not repudiate its pledge. This barred them from commercial treaties, to restore their ruined trade. They could not even establish free commerce among themselves. They could build up no public credit, by creating any method for the payment of their general war debt. There was no money in the country to speak of, since the "continental currency" had sunk to utter worthlessness, and no agency existed, or could exist, in the circumstances, that would establish a monetary system. The political and economical situation was one of chaos; and the prevailing political ideas, for some years, were such as appeared to put anything better beyond hope. Experience under British rule had filled the minds of the majority with a dread of strong government that was greater than their dread of anything else. Articles of Confederation, agreed upon with slowness and difficulty during the war, and not adopted until 1781, had been so malformed by that dread that no more than a feeble "league of friendship" was contemplated in their design. For five years after the conclusion of peace every attempt to amend these futile articles was baffled; and when, at last, in 1787, favoring circumstances brought together, at Philadelphia, a convention which undertook boldly, not proposals of amendment to the Articles of Confederation, but the framing of a real constitution of national government, nothing less than a miracle seemed likely to secure the ratification of its work by a sufficient number of States. Prodigious exertions on the part of the champions of the new federal constitution,—foremost among whom were Alexander Hamilton and James Madison,—did win the needed ratification, however, and the constitution went into effect in the spring of 1789, with George

Fiske,
*Critical
Period*

Want of
nationality
in the
"United
States"

Condition of
the country

The Articles
of Confed-
eration

Framing
and Adoption
of the
Federal
Constitution,
1787-1788

Curtis,
*History of
the Origin
[etc.] of the
Constitution*

Washington as the first president of a nationalized federal union of the States.

The British empire during and after the American Revolution

Hostilities
with France,
Spain and
Holland

Not only France, but Spain after 1779 and Holland after 1780, were drawn into conflict with Great Britain during the American War; while a hostile league of "armed neutrality" among the nations of northern Europe crippled her attempts to break up the trade of her enemies. All these combinations, however, failed to overthrow the naval supremacy of England, which Admiral Rodney confirmed anew by two great victories, in 1780 and 1782, over Spanish and French fleets.

Wars in
India,
1780-1782

In India, France renewed her attempts to shake the ascendancy of the English company, and very nearly with success. A self-made ruler, Hyder Ali, of remarkable capacity and energy, had erected a new throne in Mysore, establishing a power which does not seem to have been estimated rightly by the English till too late. They made him their enemy, while the French gave him all possible help. The consequence was a war in southern India, raging from July, 1780, till the end of 1782, during which the whole fabric of British power in the east seemed near to overthrow more than once. It was saved by the administrative energy of Warren Hastings, the governor-general, and by the military skill of Sir Eyre Coote. Hyder Ali died, and his son, Tippoo, made peace.

Warren
Hastings,
governor-
general,
1774-1785

Lyall,
*Warren
Hastings*

The political government in India had been transferred by act of parliament, in 1774, from the London directors of the East India Company to a resident governor-general and council, appointed by the company, but subject to the approval of the crown. Warren Hastings was the first of the governors-general, and not even Clive did more than he in the founding of the British empire in the east. At the end of his administration of ten years he came home to undergo one of the most famous of trials, on charges of infamous oppression, spoliation, and corruption of justice; charges prosecuted with the eloquence of Burke, Sheridan and Fox, and made more damning in later years by Macaulay's immortalizing pen. Hastings was kept upon trial by the dilatory lords of the high

court of parliament for eight years, and then acquitted on every charge. The search-light of recent historical study has confirmed that acquittal, so far as concerns the specific accusations of Burke and Macaulay; but has shown with glaring certainty that neither Clive nor Hastings, nor many others of their generation, were scrupulous as to the means by which they gathered wealth for the great company and for themselves, nor as to methods in their subjugation of feeble states.

Ireland derived some important advantages from the struggle in which England was engaged with so many enemies. To repel threatened invasions from France, the government was constrained to permit the raising of volunteers in that much oppressed island, and found itself confronted by 60,000 organized men, who began to make demands which could not safely be refused. By consequent acts passed in 1780 and 1782, independence was given to the Irish parliament and to Irish courts, with more freedom to Irish industries and trade, and more liberty to Irish Catholics than they had ever enjoyed before. But the Catholics, forming a great majority of the population, were still shamefully excluded from representation in the parliament of their kingdom, and the independence of that body only hardened its bigotry and made it corrupt.

In England itself, the very reaction which King George and his "friends" had undertaken to bring about, towards arbitrary government, brought gains to the people in the end. Especially the freedom of speech and the press, and the exposure of government to publicity and criticism, were made complete and secure, not only by the proceedings against Wilkes, but by futile attempts made in 1771 to stop the reporting of parliamentary debates. Religious bigotry, too, was compelled to begin the relaxation of its anti-Catholic laws, and a few of the most atrocious measures that had stood on the statute book since the end of the last century were repealed in 1778. This gave rise to dreadful rioting by ignorant mobs, stirred up especially by a weak-minded Scotch nobleman, Lord George Gordon, with grave consequences of destruction and pillage in London for four days. The Gordon

Concessions
to Ireland,
1780-1782

McCarthy,
*Ireland
since the
Union*,
ch. 3

Political
progress in
England

The Gordon
riots, 1780

riots are described with vividness in Dickens's story of *Barnaby Rudge*.

Late in 1783 the younger William Pitt, son of the earl of Chatham, a young man of but twenty-four years, was called to the lead in government by the king, and began his remarkable career. Before long, he had won the confidence of the country, had obtained the election of a parliament that obeyed his will, and held power by a tenure that was nearly independent of the king. France was then approaching that crisis of revolution which shook all society and every government in Europe, and the abilities of the young premier of Great Britain were brought soon to a remarkable test.

"England, itself, at this time, was entering upon a revolution, very different from that which impended in France, but the silent effects of which were of even greater moment to mankind. There exists an immense difference between the methods and the organization of industry in the twentieth century and those that were practiced before. It is a difference that has been brought about by mechanical inventions of labor-saving machinery, and by scientific discoveries, which have increased the power of man to produce things for the satisfaction of his wants. Such invention began, of course, when civilization began; but it went forward very creepingly through all the centuries until the last third of the eighteenth. Then a sudden, tremendous leap in it nearly broke all connection between the ways in which the work of the world was done before and the ways in which it has since been done.

"It was principally in England that the revolutionary leap of inventive enterprise was made, and, consequently, England won then the industrial as well as the commercial leadership of the world. Hargreaves, in 1764, Arkwright, in 1769, Crompton, in 1779, invented spinning machinery, and Cartwright, in 1784, invented a power loom, which ended the hand-spinning and hand-weaving of the past; James Watt, in 1776, made the steam engine a cheap and practicable source of power for moving such machines; Smeaton, Cort, and others, between 1760 and 1790, improved and cheapened the making of English iron, and Brindley began the building of many canals for

The
younger
William
Pitt

Rosebery,
Pitt

Industrial
revolution in
England,
1764-1790

Spinning and
weaving in-
ventions,
1764-1784

Watt's steam
engine, 1776

internal trade, while Arthur Young, in that period and after, was laboriously teaching better agriculture to the tillers of the soil. While England was being thus armed with new powers, and better highways were being opened to trade, a book appeared, entitled *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith, which taught the English people to see that when labor is most free to produce and to exchange what it produces, with least interference from the makers of law, the result of general wealth is greatest and most sure. It was a truth learned slowly, but with extraordinary effect in the end.

Adam
Smith's
*Wealth of
Nations*,
1776

"So England, at the outbreak of the French Revolution, was passing the beginnings of a momentous revolution within herself. It was a revolution as much social as economic. It gave rise to the factory system, to huge manufacturing establishments, to powerful combinations of capital, to new and greater inequalities of wealth. It built up cities, increased their population enormously, and created in them a class of workingmen easily stirred by ideas, easily combined, and certain to become a power in the state. It made the region of coal and iron, in the north, the most thickly peopled part of the land. It raised up an interest in the country which soon outweighed the landowning interest, that had ruled it before. It worked great and rapid changes in the structure of English society, and in its whole character and tone."

Larned,
*History of
England*,
545

The French Revolution

While England was passing the early stages of this great social transformation, France was drawing near to the convulsions of a political revolution which ended the old modern order, not for France only, but for Europe at large. It was a catastrophe toward which the abused French people had been slipping slowly for generations, pushed to it by blind rulers and a besotted aristocracy. By nature a people ardent and lively in temper, hopeful and brave in spirit, full of intelligence, they had been held down in dumb repression: silenced in voice, even for the uttering of their complaints; the national meeting of their representative states-general suppressed for nearly two centuries; taxes wrung from them on no measure save the will of a wanton-minded and ignorant king; their

The ap-
proaching
political
revolution

Its causes

beliefs prescribed, their laws ordained, their courts of justice commanded, their industries directed, their trade hedged round, their rights and permissions in all particulars meted out to them by the same blundering and irresponsible autocracy. How long would they bear it? and would their deliverance come by the easing or the breaking of their yoke?—these were the only questions.

State of the
kingdom
under Louis
XIV. and
XV.

Taine,
*The Ancient
Regime*

Improving
conditions

Their state was probably at its worst in the later years of Louis XIV. That seems to be the conclusion which the deepest study has now reached, and the picture drawn formerly by historians, of a society that sank continually into lower miseries, is put aside. The worst state, seemingly, was passed, or nearly so, when Louis XIV. died. It began to mend under his despicable successor, Louis XV.,—perhaps even during the regency of the profligate Orléans. Why it mended, no historian can be said to have explained. The cause was not in better government; for the government grew worse. It did not come from any rise in character of the privileged classes; for the privileged classes abused their privileges with increasing selfishness. But general influences were at work in the world at large, stimulating activities of all kinds,—industry, trade, speculation, combination, invention, experiment, science, philosophy,—and whatever improvement occurred in the material condition and social state of the common people of France may find its explanation in these. There was an augmentation of life in the air of the eighteenth century, and France took some invigoration from it, despite the many maladies in its social system and the oppressions of government under which it bent.

The people
beginning to
think

But the difference between the France of Louis XIV. and the France of Louis XVI. was more in the people than in their state. If their misery was a little less, their patience was still less. The stimulations of the age, which may have given more effectiveness to labor and more energy to trade, had likewise set thinking astir, on the same practical lines. Men whose minds in former centuries would have labored on riddles dialectical, metaphysical and theological, were now bent on the pressing problems of daily life. The mysteries of economic science began to challenge them. Every aspect of surrounding

society thrust questions upon them, concerning its origin, its history, its inequalities, its laws and their principles, its government and the source of authority in it. The so-called "philosophers" of the age,—Rousseau, Voltaire and the encyclopedists—were not the only questioners of the social world, nor did the questioning all come from what they taught. It was the intellectual epidemic of the time, carried into all countries, penetrating all classes, and nowhere with more diffusion than in France.

Rousseau, Voltaire and the "encyclopedists"

After the successful revolt of the English colonies in America, and the conspicuous blazoning of democratic doctrines in their declaration of independence and their republican constitution, the ferment of social free-thinking in France was increased. The French had helped the colonists, fought side by side with them, watched their struggle with intense interest, and all the issues involved in the American revolution were discussed among them, with partiality to the republican side. Franklin, most republican representative of the young republic, came among them and captivated every class. He recommended to them the ideas for which he stood, perhaps more than we suspect.

Effects of the American revolution

Franklin in France

And thus, by many influences, the French people of all classes except the privileged nobility, and even in that class to some extent, were made increasingly impatient of their misgovernment and of the wrongs and miseries going with it. Louis XVI., who came to the throne in 1774, was the best in character of the late Bourbon kings. He had no noxious vices and no baleful ambitions. If he had found right conditions prevailing in his kingdom he would have made the best of them. But he had no capacity for reforming the evils that he inherited, and no strength of will to sustain those who had. He accepted an earnest reforming minister with more than willingness, and approved the wise measures of economy, of equitable taxation, and of emancipation for manufactures and trade, which Turgot proposed. But when protected interests, and the privileged order which fattened on existing abuses, raised a storm of opposition, he gave way to it, and dismissed the man who might possibly have made the inevitable revolution a peaceful one. An-

Louis XVI.
1774-1793

Dismissal of Turgot,
1776

Dismissal of
Necker,
1781

other minister, the Genevan banker, Necker, who aimed at less reform, but demanded economy, suffered the same overthrow. The waste, the profligate expenditure, the jobbery, the leeching of the treasury by high-born pensioners and sinecure office-holders, went on, scarcely checked, until the beginnings of actual bankruptcy had appeared.

Meeting of
the states-
general,
May, 1789

Sybel,
*History of
the French
Rev.*, bk. 1

Taine,
*The French
Revolution* :
bk. 1

Then a cry, not much heeded before, for the convocation of the states-general of the kingdom—the ancient great legislature of France, extinct since the year 1614—became loud and general. The king yielded. The states-general was called to meet on the 1st of May, 1789, and the royal summons decreed that the deputies chosen to it from the third estate—the common people—should be equal in number to the deputies of the nobility and the clergy together. So the dumb lips of France as a nation were opened, its tongue unloosed, its common public opinion and public feeling made articulate, for the first time in one hundred and seventy-five years. And the word that it spoke was the mandate of revolution.

Conflict
between
the three
estates

The states-general assembled at Versailles on the 5th of May, and a conflict between the third estate and the nobles occurred at once on the question between three assemblies and one. Should the three orders deliberate and vote together as one body, or sit and act separately and apart? The commons demanded the single assembly. The nobles and most of the clergy refused the union, in which their votes would be overpowered.

The third
estate
organized as
a national
assembly

After some weeks of deadlock on this fundamental issue, the third estate brought it to a summary decision, by asserting its own supremacy, as representative of the mass of the nation, and organizing itself in the character of the "national assembly" of France. Under that name and character it was joined by a considerable part of the humbler clergy, and by some of the nobles,—additional to a few, like Mirabeau, who sat from the beginning with the third estate, as elected representatives of the people. The king made a weak attempt to annul this assumption of legislative sufficiency on the part of the third estate, and only hurried the exposure of his own powerlessness. Persuaded by his worst advisers to attempt a stronger

demonstration of the royal authority, he filled Paris with troops, and inflamed the excitement, which had risen already to a passionate heat.

Necker, who had been recalled to the ministry when the meeting of the states-general was decided upon, now received his second dismissal, and the news of it acted on Paris like a signal of insurrection. The city next day was in tumult. On the 14th the Bastille was attacked and taken. The king's government vanished utterly. His troops fraternized with the riotous people. Citizens of Paris organized themselves as a national guard, on which every hope of order depended, and Lafayette took command. The frightened nobility began flight, first from Paris, and then from the provinces, as mob violence spread over the kingdom from the capital. In October there were rumors that the king had planned to follow the "émigrés" and take refuge in Metz. Then occurred the famous rising of the women; their procession to Versailles; the crowd of men which followed, accompanied but not controlled by Lafayette and his national guards; the conveyance of the king and royal family to Paris, where they remained during the subsequent year, practically in captivity, and at the mercy of the Parisian mob.

Meanwhile, the national assembly, negligent of the dangers of the moment, while actual anarchy prevailed, busied itself with debates on constitutional theory, with enactments for the abolition of titles and privileges, and with the creating of an inconvertible paper money, based on confiscated church lands, to supply the needs of the national treasury. Meantime, too, the members of the assembly and their supporters outside of it were breaking into parties and factions, divided by their different purposes, principles and aims, and forming clubs,—centers of agitation and discussion,—clubs of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers, the Feuillants and the like,—where fear, distrust and jealousy were soon engendering ferocious conflicts among the revolutionists themselves. And outside of France, on the border where the fugitive nobles lurked, intrigue was always active, striving to enlist foreign help for King Louis against his subjects.

In April, 1791, Mirabeau, whose influence had been a

Outbreak of
revolution,
July, 1789

Lafayette
Tuckerman,
*Life of
Lafayette*, i:
ch. ix-x

The king
and family
brought to
Paris
Oct., 1789

The
political
clubs,
Jacobin,
etc.

Taine,
*The French
Revolution*
2: bk. 4

Death of
Mirabeau,
April, 1791

powerful restraint upon the revolution, died. In June, the king made an attempt to escape from his durance in Paris, but was captured at Varennes and brought back. Angry demands for his deposition were now made, and a tumultuous republican demonstration occurred, on the Champ de Mars, which Lafayette and the mayor of Paris, Bailly, dispersed by force. Republicanism had not yet got its footing. In the constitution, which the assembly completed at this time, the throne was left undisturbed.

Adoption of
a constitu-
tion

The king accepted the instrument, and a constitutional monarchy appeared to have taken the place of the absolute monarchy of the past.

Election of a
legislative
assembly
Oct., 1791

It was an appearance maintained for little more than a year. The constituent national assembly being dissolved, gave way to a legislative assembly, elected under the new constitution. In the legislative assembly the republicans appeared with a strength which soon gave them control. They were divided into various groups; but the most eloquent and energetic of these, coming from Bordeaux and the department of the

The
Girondists in
power, 1792

Gironde, fixed the name of Girondists upon the party to which they belonged. The king, as a constitutional sovereign, was forced presently to choose ministers from the ranks of the Girondists, and they conducted the government for several months in the spring of 1792.

Lamartine,
*History of
the
Girondists*

The earliest use they made of their control was to hurry the country into war with the German powers, which were accused of giving encouragement to the hostile plans of the émigrés on the border. It is now a well-determined fact that the emperor Leopold was opposed to war with France, and used all his influence for the preservation of peace. It was revolutionary France which opened the conflict, and it was the Girondists who led and shaped the policy of war.

War with the
German
powers

In the first encounters of the war, the undisciplined French troops were beaten, and Paris was alarmed. Measures were adopted which the king refused to sanction, and his Girondist ministers were dismissed. Lafayette, who commanded one division of the army in the field, approved the king's course, and wrote an unwise letter to the assembly, intimating that the army would

not submit to a violation of the constitution. The republicans were enraged. Everything seemed proof to them of a treasonable connivance with the enemies of France, to bring about the subjugation of the country, and a forcible restoration of the old régime, absolutism, aristocratic privilege and all. On the 20th of June there was another unchecked rising of the Paris mob. The rioters broke into the Tuileries and humiliated the king and queen with insults, but no violence was done. Lafayette came to Paris and attempted to reorganize his old national guard, for the defense of the constitution and the preservation of order, but failed.

Republicans
enraged

The king
and queen
mobbbed,
June, 1792

The extremists then resolved to throw down the toppling monarchy at once, by a sudden blow. In the early morning of August 10, they expelled the council-general of the municipality of Paris from the Hotel de Ville, and placed the government of the city under the control of a provisional commune, with Danton at its head. At the same hour, the mob which these conspirators held in readiness, and which they directed, attacked the Tuileries and massacred the Swiss guard, while the king and the royal family escaped for refuge to the chamber of the legislative assembly, near at hand. There, in the king's presence, on a formal demand made by the new self-constituted municipality or commune of Paris, the assembly declared his suspension from executive functions, and invited the people to elect without delay a national convention for the revising of the constitution.

Overthrow
of the
monarchy,
August, 1792

Stephens,
*History of
the French
Rev.*, 2 : ch.
iv.

Commissioners, sent out to the provinces and the armies in the field, were received everywhere with submission to the change of government, except by Lafayette and his army, in and around Sedan. The marquis placed them under arrest and took from his soldiers a new oath of fidelity to the constitution and the king. But he found himself unsupported, and, yielding to the sweep of events, he obeyed a dismissal by the new government from his command, and left France, to wait in exile for a time when he might serve his country with a conscience more assured.

Lafayette
in exile

Pending the meeting of the convention, the Paris commune, increased in number to two hundred and eighty-

France ruled by the Paris commune, Aug.-Sept., 1792

Imprisonment of the king

The "September Massacres," Sept. 2-7, 1792.

The national convention

Jacobin fury

Execution of the king, Jan. 21, 1793

Carlyle, *French Revolution*, bk. 2, ch. viii.

Fall of the Girondists, June, 1793

Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, 2 : ch. vii-viii

The Jacobin "Mountain"

eight, and dominated by Danton and Robespierre, became the governing power in France. The legislative assembly was subservient to it; the kingless ministry, which had Danton in association with the restored Girondists, was no less so. The fierce vigor of the commune caused the king and the royal family to be imprisoned in the Temple; instituted a special tribunal for the summary trial of political prisoners; searched Paris for "suspects," on the night of August 29-30; gathered three thousand men and women into the prisons and convents of the city; planned and ordered the "September Massacres" of the following week, and thus thinned the whole number of these "suspects" by a half.

On the 22d of September the national convention assembled. The Jacobins, who controlled the commune, were found to have carried Paris overwhelmingly, and all France largely with them, in the election of representatives. A furious, fanatical democracy, a bloodthirsty anarchism, was in the ascendant. The republican Girondists were now the conservative party in the convention. They struggled to hold their ground, and very soon they were struggling for their lives. The Jacobin fury was tolerant of no opposition. What stood in its path, with no deadlier weapon than an argument or an appeal, must be, not merely overcome, but destroyed. The Girondists would have saved the king from the guillotine, but they dared not adopt his defense, and their own fate was sealed when they gave votes, under fear, which sent him in January to his death. Five months longer they contended irresolutely, as a failing faction, with their terrible adversaries, and then, in June, 1793, they were proscribed and their arrest decreed. Some escaped and raised futile insurrections in the provinces. Some stayed and faced the death which awaited them in the fast approaching "reign of terror."

The fall of the Girondists left the Jacobin "Mountain" (so-called from the elevation of the seats on which its deputies sat in the convention) unopposed. Their power was not only absolute in fact, but unquestioned, and they went mad in the exercise of it. The same madness overcame them in the mass which overcame Nero, Caligula,

Caracalla, as individuals; for the unnatural and awful feeling of unlimited dominion can turn the brain of a suddenly triumphant faction as surely as it can madden a single shallow-minded man. The men of the "Mountain" were not only masters of France—except in La Vendée and the neighboring region south of the Loire, where an obstinate insurrection had broken out—but the armies which obeyed them had driven back the invading Germans, had occupied the Austrian Netherlands and had taken possession of Savoy and Nice. Intoxicated by these successes, the convention had proclaimed a crusade against all monarchical government, offering the help of France to every people which would rise against existing authorities, and declaring enmity to those who refused alliance with the revolution. Holland was attacked and England forced to war. The spring of 1793 found a great European coalition formed against revolutionary France, and justified by the aggressions of the Jacobinical government.

The madness of unbounded power

Crusade against monarchies

For effective exercise of the power of the Jacobins, the convention as a whole proved too large a body, even when it had been purged of Girondist opposition. Its authority was now gathered into the hands of the famous committee of public safety, which became, in fact, the revolutionary government, controlling the national armies and the whole administration of domestic and foreign affairs. Its reign was the Reign of Terror, and the fearful "revolutionary tribunal," which began its bloody work with the guillotine in October, 1793, was the chief instrument of its power. Robespierre, Barère, St. Just, Couthon, Billaud-Varennes, Collot d' Herbois and Carnot—the latter devoted to the business of the war—were the controlling members of the committee. Danton withdrew from it, refusing to serve.

The Committee of public safety

"The reign of terror," Oct., 1793-July, 1794

Carlyle, *French Revolution*, 3: ch. iv-vi

In September, the policy of terrorism was avowedly adopted, and, in the language of the Paris commune, "the reign of terror" became "the order of the day." The arraignment of "suspects" before the revolutionary tribunal began. On the 14th of October Marie Antoinette was put on trial; on the 16th she met her death. On the 31st the twenty-one imprisoned Girondist deputies were sent to the guillotine; followed on the 10th of November

Stephens, *History of the French Revolution*, 2: ch. x-xi

Execution of the queen, Oct. 16, 1793

Madame
Roland

by the remarkable woman, Madame Roland, who was looked upon as the real leader of their party. From that time until the midsummer following, the blood-madness raged; not in Paris alone, but throughout France, at Lyons, Marseilles, Toulon, Bordeaux, Nantes, and wherever a show of insurrection and resistance had challenged the ferocity of the commissioners of the revolutionary government, who had been sent into the provinces with unlimited death-dealing powers.

Factions
of "the
Mountain"
devouring
one another

Morley,
Robespierre
(in *Critical*
Miscellanies,
2.)

Carlyle,
French
Revolution,
3: bk. 6

Execution of
Danton,
April 5, 1794

Execution of
Robespierre,
July 27, 1794

End of the
Reign of
Terror

Last revolu-
tionary ris-
ing, May,
1795

But when Jacobinism had destroyed all exterior opposition, it began very soon to break into factions within itself. There was a pitch in its excesses at which even Danton and Robespierre became conservatives, as against Hébert and the atheists of his faction. A brief struggle ensued, and the Hébertists, in March, 1794, passed under the knife of the guillotine. A month later Danton's enemies had rallied and he, with his followers, went down before their attack, and the sharp knife in the Place de la Révolution silenced his bold tongue. Robespierre remained dominant for a few weeks longer in the still reigning committee of public safety; but his domination was already undermined by many fears, distrusts and jealousies among his colleagues and throughout his party. His downfall came suddenly on the 27th of July. On the morning of that day he was the dictator of the convention and of its ruling committee; at night he was a headless corpse, and Paris was shouting with joy.

On the death of Robespierre the reign of terror came quickly to an end. The reaction was sudden and swift. The committee of public safety was changed; of the old members only Carnot, indispensable organizer of war, remained. The revolutionary tribunal was remodeled. The Jacobin club was broken up. The surviving Girondist deputies came back to the convention. Prosecution of the terrorists for their crimes began. A new struggle opened, between the lower elements in Parisian and French society, the *sansculotte* elements, which had controlled the revolution thus far, and the middle class, the *bourgeoisie*, long cowed and suppressed, but now rallying to recover its share of power. *Bourgeoisie* triumphed in the contest.



LAST VICTIMS OF THE REIGN OF TERROR

The *sansculottes* made their last effort in a rising on the 1st Prairial, and were put down.

A new constitution was framed, which organized the government of the republic under a legislature in two chambers,—a council of five hundred and a council of ancients,—with an executive directory of five. But only one third of the legislature first assembled was to be elected freely by the people. The remaining two thirds were to be taken from the membership of the existing convention. Paris rejected this last-mentioned feature of the constitution, while France at large ratified it. The national guard of Paris rose in insurrection on the 13th Vendémiaire (October 5), and it was on this occasion that the young Corsican officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, got his foot on the first round of the ladder by which he climbed afterward to so great a height. Put in command of the regular troops in Paris, which numbered only 5,000, against 30,000 of the national guards, he crushed the latter in an action of an hour. That was the opening hour of his career.

A new
republican
constitution,
Sept., 1795

Advent of
Napoleon
Bonaparte,
Oct. 5, 1794

The government of the directory was instituted on the 27th of October following. Of its five members, Carnot and Barras were the only men of note, then or after.

The
Directory

While France was cowering under "the Terror," its armies, under Jourdan, Hoche and Pichegru, had withstood the great European combination with astonishing success. The allies were weakened by ill feeling between Prussia and Austria, over the second partition of Poland, and generally by a want of concert and capable leadership in their action. On the other side, the democratic military system of the republic, under Carnot's keen eyes, was bringing fresh soldierly talent to the front. The fall of the Jacobins made no change in that vital department of the administration, and the successes of the French were continued. In the summer of 1794 they carried the war into Germany, and expelled the allies from the Austrian Netherlands. Thence they invaded Holland, and before the end of January, 1795, they were masters of the country; the stadtholder had fled to England, and a Batavian republic had been organized. Spain had suffered losses in battle with them along the Pyrenees, and

War with the
Coalition,
1794-1795

Holland
subjugated,
Jan., 1795

the king of Sardinia had yielded to them the passes of the Maritime Alps. In April the king of Prussia made peace with France. Before the close of the year 1795 the revolt in La Vendée was at an end; Spain had made peace; Pichegru had attempted a great betrayal of the armies on the Rhine, and had failed.

This, in brief, was the situation at the opening of the year 1796, when the "little Corsican officer," who won the confidence of the new government of the directory by saving its constitution on the 13th Vendémiaire, planned the campaign of the year, and received the command of the army sent to Italy. He attacked the Sardinians in April, and a single month sufficed to break the courage of their king and force him to a treaty of peace. On the 10th of May he defeated the Austrians at Lodi; on the 15th he was in Milan. Lombardy was abandoned to him; all central Italy was at his mercy, and he began to act the sovereign conqueror in the peninsula, with a contempt for the government at Paris which he hardly concealed. Two ephemeral republics were created under his direction, the Cisalpine, in Lombardy, and the Cispadane, embracing Modena, Ferrara and Bologna. The papacy was shorn of part of its domain.

Every attempt made by the Austrians to shake the hold which Bonaparte had fastened on the peninsula only fixed it more firmly. In the spring he began movements beyond the Alps, in concert with Hoche on the Rhine, threatening Vienna itself and frightening Austria into proposals of peace. Preliminaries, signed in April, foreshadowed the hard terms of the treaty concluded at Campo Formio in the following October. Austria gave up her Netherland provinces to France, and part of her Italian territories to the Cisalpine republic; but received, in partial compensation, the city of Venice and a portion of the dominions of the Venetian states; for, between the armistice and the treaty, Bonaparte had attacked and overthrown the venerable republic, and now divided it with his humbled enemy.

The masterful Corsican, who handled these great matters with the air of a sovereign, may already have known himself to be the coming master of France. For the inevitable submission again of the many to one was

Bonaparte's
campaign in
Italy, 1796

Battle of
Lodi

Creation of
Italian
republics

Treaty of
Campo
Formio,
Oct., 1797

Overthrow
of the
republic of
Venice

growing plain to discerning eyes. The frightful school-teaching of the revolution had not impressed practical lessons in politics on the mind of the untrained democracy, so much as suspicions, distrusts and alarms. All the sobriety of temper, the confidence of feeling, the constraining habit of public order, without which the self-government of a people is impracticable, were yet to be acquired. French democracy was not more prepared for republican institutions in 1797 than it had been in 1789. There was no more temperance in its factions, no more balance between parties, no more of a steadying potency in public opinion; but it was brought to a state of feeling that would prefer the sinking of all factions under some vigorous autocracy, rather than another appeal of their quarrels to the guillotine. And events were moving fast to a point at which that choice would require to be made. The summer of 1797 found the members of the directory in hopeless conflict with one another and with the legislative councils. On the 4th of September a "*coup d'état*," to which Bonaparte contributed some help, purged both the directory and the councils of men obnoxious to the violent faction, and exiled them to Guiana. Perhaps the moment was favorable then for a soldier, with the great prestige that Bonaparte had won, to mount to the seat of power; but he did not so judge.

He planned, instead, an expedition to Egypt, directed against the British power in the east. It was an expedition that failed in every object it could have, except the absence in which it kept him from increasing political disorders at home. He was able to maintain some appearance of success, by his subjugation of Egypt and his invasion of Syria; but of harm done to England, or of gain to France in the Mediterranean, there was none; since Nelson, at the battle of the Nile, destroyed the French fleet, and Turkey was added to the Anglo-Austrian coalition. The blunder of the expedition, as proved by its whole results, was not seen by the French people so plainly, however, as they saw the growing hopelessness of their own political state, and the alarming reverses which their armies in Italy and on the Rhine had sustained since Bonaparte went away.

France
under the
Directory,
1797

French
democracy
unprepared
for republic-
an institu-
tions.

The
coup d'état
of 1797

Bonaparte's
expedition to
Egypt, 1798

Battle of the
Nile, Aug.
1, 1798.

Mahan,
*Influence of
Sea Power
on French
Rev.*, 1: ch.
ix

New coalition
against
French
aggressions,
1798

Continued aggressions on the part of the French had provoked a new European coalition, formed in 1798. In Switzerland, the French had overthrown the ancient constitution of the confederacy, organizing a new Helvetic republic on the Gallic model, but taking Geneva to themselves. In Italy they had set up a third republic, the Roman, removing the pope forcibly from his sovereignty and from Rome. Every state within reach had then taken fresh alarm, and even Russia, undisturbed in the distance, was now enlisted against the troublesome democracy of France.

French
reverses in
Italy

The unwise king of Naples, entering rashly into the war before his allies could support him, and hastening to restore the pope, had been driven from his kingdom, which underwent transformation into a fourth Italian republic, the Parthenopeian. But this only stimulated the efforts of the coalition, and in the course of the following year the French were expelled from all Italy, saving Genoa alone, and the ephemeral republics they had set up were extinguished. On the Rhine they had lost ground; but they had held their own in Switzerland, after a fierce struggle with the Russian forces of Suwarrow.

Bonaparte's
return from
Egypt,
Oct., 1799

When news of these disasters, and of the ripeness of the situation at Paris for a new *coup d' état*, reached Bonaparte, in Egypt, he deserted his army there, leaving it, under Kléber, in a helpless situation, and made his way back to France. He landed at Fréjus on the 9th of October. Precisely a month later, by a combination with Sieyès, a veteran revolutionist and maker of constitutions, he accomplished the overthrow of the directory. Before the year closed, a fresh constitution was in force, which vested substantially monarchical powers in an executive called the first consul, and the chosen first consul was Napoleon Bonaparte. Two associate consuls, who sat with him, had no purpose but to conceal for a short time the real absoluteness of his rule.

Overthrow
of the
Directory.
Bonaparte,
first consul,
Nov., 1799

Lanfrey,
*History of
Napoleon*,
1: ch. xiii-
xiv

From that time, for fifteen years, the history of France—it is almost possible to say the history of Europe—is the story of the career of the extraordinary Corsican adventurer who took possession of the French nation, with unparalleled audacity, and who used it, with all that per-

tained to it—lives, fortunes, talents, resources—in the most prodigious and the most ruthless undertakings of personal ambition that the modern world has ever seen. The French revolution was Napoleonized.

Career of the extraordinary Corsican adventurer

Germany after the Seven Years War

After the Seven Years War and before the disturbance of Europe by the French revolution, Germany enjoyed a period of thirty years that was generally peaceful, and generally one of advancement in many ways. In the twenty-three remaining years of the reign of Frederick the Great he did much to repair the exhaustion produced in Prussia by his wars, and his sagacious practical measures to that end furnished lessons to his neighbors that were not entirely lost. On the Austrian throne, the emperor Joseph II., who came first into association with his mother, Maria Theresa (1765), and then (1780) in succession to her, with exalted aspirations and ideals, but less of practical judgment, went sometimes too fast and too far in superb undertakings of reform. Among the results of his reign were the abolition of slavery (not serfdom) in Austria; suppression of serfdom in Hungary; abolition of torture in criminal procedure; freedom of Protestant worship in Austria; diminution of monasteries, with an appropriation of many monastic estates to the support of public instruction. Naturally, the church was his enemy, and worked against him among the people, troubling his life to the end. He died in 1790, at the early age of forty-nine.

Later years of Frederick the Great, 1763-1786

The emperor, Joseph II., 1765-1790

His reforms

It was in this time, following the wars of Frederick the Great, that the classical period of German literature, opened about the middle of the century by Klopstock and Lessing, came to its acme in the work of Goethe and Schiller; and it was now that philosophical thought in Germany was awakened newly by Kant.

Literature and philosophy

The partitioning of Poland

Of political events in the period, the most important was the partitioning of Poland, a crime planned by Catherine II. of Russia, but shared in the perpetration by Prussia and Austria. As Catherine entertained the design

Mackintosh,
*The Partitioning
of Poland* (in
Miscellaneous Works)

Preceding
events,
1763-1768

at first, there was probably no thought of the partitioning that was afterward contrived. Her purpose was to keep the Polish kingdom in disorder and weakness, and to make Russian influence supreme in it, with views, no doubt, that looked ultimately to something more. On the death of the Saxon king of Poland, Augustus III., in 1763, Catherine put forward a native candidate for the vacant throne, in the person of Stanislaus Poniatowsky, a Russianized Pole and a former lover of her own. The king of Prussia supported her candidate, and Poniatowsky was elected, with 10,000 Russian troops in Warsaw to see that it was properly done. The Poles were submissive to the invasion of their political independence; but when Catherine sought to create a Russian party in Poland, by protecting the members of the Greek church and the Protestants, against the intolerance of the Polish Catholics, and forced a concession of civil equality to the former, there was a widespread Catholic revolt.

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1768-1774

The
whispered
suggestion

In the fierce war which followed, a band of Poles was pursued across the Turkish border, and a Turkish town was burned by the Russian pursuers. The sultan, who professed sympathy with the Poles, then declared war against Russia. The Russo-Turkish war, in turn, excited Austria, which feared Russian conquests from the Turks, and another wide disturbance of the peace of Europe seemed threatening. In the midst of the excitement there came a whispered suggestion, to the ear of the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg, that they might satisfy their territorial cravings and mutually assuage each other's jealousy, at the expense of the crumbling kingdom of Poland. The whisper may have come from Frederick II. of Prussia, or it may not. There are two opinions on the point. From whatever source it came, it found favorable consideration at Vienna and St. Petersburg, and, between February and August, 1772, the details of the partition were worked out.

The first
partition,
1772

Poland, however, was not extinguished. The kingdom was only shorn of some 160,000 square miles of territory, more than half of which went to Russia, a third to Austria, and the remainder, less than 10,000 square miles, to Prussia. This last mentioned annexation was the old

district of West Prussia, which the Polish king, Casimir IV., had wrested from the Teutonic Knights in 1466, before Brandenburg had aught to do with Prussian lands or name. After three centuries, Frederick reclaimed it.

The diminished kingdom of Poland showed more signs of a true national life, of an earnest national feeling, of a sobered and rational patriotism, than had appeared in its former history. The fatal powers monopolized by the nobles, the deadly "liberum veto," the corrupting elective kingship, were looked at in their true light, and in May, 1791, a new constitution was adopted which reformed those evils. But a few nobles opposed the reformation and appealed to Russia, supplying a pretext to Catherine on which she filled Poland with her troops. It was in vain that the patriot Kosciusko led the best of his countrymen in a brave struggle with the invader. They were overborne; the unhappy nation was put in fetters, while Catherine and a new king of Prussia, Frederick William II., arranged the terms of a second partition. This gave to Prussia an additional thousand square miles, including the important towns of Danzig and Thorn, while Russia took four times as much. Two years later, the small remainder of Polish territory was dismembered and divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria, and thus Poland disappeared from the map of Europe as a state.

The new
Polish
constitution,
1791

Kosciusko,
1793-1794

The second
and third
partitions,
1793, 1795

Russia

Meantime, in her conflicts with the Turks, Catherine was extending her vast empire to the Dneister and the Caucasus, and opening a passage for her fleets from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. By treaty in 1774 she placed the Tatars of the Crimea in independence of the Turks, and so isolated them for easy conquest. In 1783 the conquest was made complete. By the same treaty she secured a right of remonstrance on behalf of the Christian subjects of the sultan, in the Danubian principalities, and in the Greek church at Constantinople, which opened many pretexts for future interference and for war at Russian convenience.

Conquests of
Catherine II.
from the
Turks,
1774-1783

The aggressions of the strong-willed and powerful tzarina, and their dazzling success, filled her subjects with pride, and effaced all remembrance of her foreign origin

Her
reforms

and her want of right to the seat which she filled. She was ambitious to improve the empire, as well as to expand it; for her liberal mind took in the large ideas of that speculative age and was much moved by them. She attempted many reforms; but most things that she tried to do for the bettering of civilization and the lifting of the people were done imperiously, and spoiled by the autocratic method of the doing. In her later years, her inclination towards liberal ideas was checked, and the French revolution put an end to it.

The United States of America

Organization
of federal
government,
1789

The organization of the federal government of the United States, under the presidency of George Washington (inaugurated April 30, 1789), happened coincidentally with the opening scenes of the French revolution, and the first quarter-century of the life of the young American republic was troubled by that dread convulsion, and by influences that sprang from the wars to which it led. There were four years, however, of the administration of Washington, before the European disturbance of American politics and economics became serious, in which time the new government acquired a firm footing, and overcame the chaos of conditions in the country with remarkable success.

Washington's
cabinet

In forming his administration, the president called Alexander Hamilton to the treasury department, Thomas Jefferson to the department of state, and General Henry Knox to that of war. These, at the outset, were the only departments created. Hamilton received the post of chief importance, in the circumstances of the time, and no wiser selection was ever made. His financial measures, carried through congress by convincing arguments, against strong opposition, founded the credit of the young nation with enduring solidity, and inspired faith in the stability and efficiency of its government, at home and abroad. They included, (1) provisions for the funding of the indebtedness of the late confederation, in the various forms of its existence; (2) an assumption of the war debts of the several States, to be funded in like manner, as a national obligation; (3) provision of revenues from customs dues

Hamilton's
financial
measures,
1790-1791

Schouler,
*History of
the United
States*,
I: 130-142,
158-162

and excise tax on whisky, sufficient for meeting these obligations, in current interest and in principal at maturity; (4) the creation of a national bank of the United States, to strengthen the organization of capital and credit in the country, and to assist the financial operations of the government.

The two features of Hamilton's policy that encountered the most earnest opposition were the assumption of the war debts of the States and the institution of a national bank. It was easy to see that these measures, beyond their financial bearing, would have powerful political effects. They tended to magnify the functions, the attributes, the sovereignty, of the federal government, and, apparently, at least, to set the States in a rank more subordinate than many people were willing to have them accept. The jealous dread of any kind of strong overlordship in the government of the federated States was felt widely and deeply, even yet. It had given way just far enough to assent to the federal constitution of 1787; but many, like Madison, who had labored ardently to procure that assent, were anxious watchers of the working of the constitution, determined that the government formed under it should have no more of power and no more of supremacy above the States than the common interests and the necessities of public order would require. This feeling was at the bottom of the opposition to Hamilton's measures; while he and a large part of his supporters were inspired by the desire to solidify and nationalize the federal union, and to give positive supremacy and strength to its government, as much as by financial opinions and aims.

From that day to this the main division of political parties in the United States has been on the line of cleavage that opened then. It has been upon issues between national sovereignty and State sovereignty; between strength and weakness in the general government; between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the working of the federal system. Generally, too, the party issues in American politics have turned at all times, as they did at the beginning, on questions that relate to the scope and meaning of provisions embodied in the federal constitu-

The political
issue
involved

Jealous
dread of
strong
central
government

Lasting
division of
political
parties

Gordy,
*Political
History of
the United
States*,
1: ch. vii-x

The
national
bank
question

tion. Hamilton's opponents contended that the constitution gave congress no authority to charter a bank. He argued, in reply, that the authority is implied in that clause of the eighth section of the first article, coming after an enumeration of the powers given in express terms to congress, which adds to them the broad authority "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers." The proposed bank, he held, was a necessary and proper instrument of government, for the conducting of financial operations and promoting the general welfare, and, therefore, the power to create it is implied. This doctrine of "implied powers" in the constitution gives an elasticity to the great instrument—especially to that most "elastic clause"—which minds of one order welcome, as essential to its best working, and which minds of another order fear and abhor.

The
doctrine of
"implied
powers"

Federalists
and
Republicans

Those who supported Hamilton's measures and his broad construction of the constitution, desiring to make the most of the federal constitution, as the organic law of a nation, were called Federalists; the opposing party, contending for strict constructions of the constitution and limited powers in the general government, found its chief in Jefferson, and was content for a time to be known as the party of the Anti-Federalists. Later, it was organized as the Democratic-Republican, or, in common usage, the Republican party, under which designation it needs to be distinguished with care from the Republican party of later times.

Disturbing
effects of the
French
revolution

During the first term of the administration of President Washington, as said before, the attention of the Americans was undistracted from their domestic affairs, and a remarkable settlement of conditions among them was accomplished, starting them with signal success on their new political career. Then a mischievous intrusion in their politics of exciting questions from abroad, arising from the French revolution, began to fever them with an alien factiousness that distempered the whole American body politic for twenty years. Ardent sympathy with the revolutionary movement in France had been almost universal at the beginning; but the awful violence into which it ran,

the savagery of the rising Jacobins, the despairing flight of Lafayette from France, changed the feeling of the conservative classes of people, found generally in the ranks of the Federalists, while the more democratic Anti-Federalists or Republicans clung still to beliefs or hopes in an outcome of right. When, in 1793, the French revolutionists declared war with England, this division of feeling toward them produced partisans of France on one side, partisans of England on the other,—a French faction and an English faction,—the quarrels of which, unnatural in American politics and unwholesome, did infinite harm to the political spirit of the generation in which they occurred.

French and
English
factions

Troubles arising from the Anglo-French war began in the spring of 1793, on the arrival of "Citizen Genet," as an envoy from the revolutionary government in France, claiming aid from the United States, to fulfill obligations under the treaty of alliance made in 1778. That treaty, with the king of France, pledged help to him for the defense of his West India possessions. Was it binding in present circumstances, since the royal government in France was overthrown, and France was not defensively but aggressively at war? Washington and his advisers decided that it was not, and a proclamation of neutrality was issued, with the acquiescence of Jefferson, as secretary of state. But the friendliness of Jefferson's party to France was so warm that neutrality became hard to preserve. Genet, misled by the enthusiasm of the welcome they gave him, imagined that the American people would overrule their government and allow him to push them into war. His conduct, in violation of the neutrality proclaimed, became intolerable, and the government was forced to demand his recall.

"Citizen
Genet,"
1793-1794

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.*
2 : ch. viii

Genet's
conduct

At the same time England, using her great naval power with arrogance, and assuming to dictate the narrowest possible rules of neutral commerce, dealt most offensively with the United States, not only in the matter of American trade with France and her colonies, but in another that exasperated American feeling much more. She asserted a right to search the ships of other nations for seamen who had deserted from her own, or whom she claimed

Naval
arrogance
of England

British
searching of
neutral ships

for naval service as subjects of her crown. Naturally, this right of search which she claimed was exercised mostly on American ships, where British seamen were most likely to be found, but where, among people of the same race and same speech, nativity would be hardest to prove. Many native-born Americans were said to have been dragged into the British navy by this barbarous impressment at sea. These fresh irritations, added to the old feeling against England which the War of Independence had left, kindled an anger in the country that seemed likely to be satisfied by nothing short of war. Hostilities were averted, however, by the unwilling acceptance of a treaty which the chief justice of the United States, John Jay, went to England to negotiate, in 1794. Though a tempest of rage against the treaty was raised when its provisions became known, it represented, undoubtedly, the best that could be done at the time, and the ratification of it was wise. It did not bind Great Britain to stop impressments from American ships, but it secured indemnity for recent illegal captures of merchant vessels, secured the surrender of western forts, obtained some privileges of trade in the British West Indies, settled the claims of British creditors, and postponed a war which the country was in no condition to undertake.

The Jay
treaty,
1794-1795

Pellew,
John Jay,
301-317

Develop-
ment of the
southwest

Vermont,
Kentucky,
and Ten-
nessee added
to the Union,
1791-1796

The Jay treaty gave much offense to France and Spain, and nearly caused the latter country to repudiate a recent convention, which freed the navigation of the Mississippi and conceded important privileges to American merchants at New Orleans. American settlement of the country south of the Ohio was now advancing with great rapidity, and two new States (Kentucky, 1792, Tennessee, 1796) were formed in that region and admitted to the union in the period of the presidency of Washington. These stand second and third in the long list of States added to the original thirteen, Vermont, formed from territory that had been in dispute between New Hampshire and New York, and admitted in 1791, being the first. Exit to the Gulf for their trade was a matter of prime importance to all the settlements in the Ohio Valley, and they were restive under the control held by Spain over the mouth of the Mississippi and its whole western bank.

Washington could not be persuaded to serve in the presidency for a third term, and announced his decision in the memorable Farewell Address to his countrymen that was published in September, 1796. John Adams, of Massachusetts, who had been vice-president, was chosen for president, and Thomas Jefferson for vice-president, at the ensuing election, and took office in the following March. Early in the administration of President Adams a serious rupture with France occurred. The revolutionary government of that country had resented the refusal of the United States to become its ally against Great Britain; and its resentment had been heightened, first, by the Jay treaty, and then, still further, by the recall from France of Mr. James Monroe, sent there as American minister, in 1794. Monroe had been warmly in sympathy with the French republicans, and Washington, who thought his course unwise, sent General C. C. Pinckney to take his place. The French government not only refused to receive Pinckney, but ordered him out of the country in a most offensive way. At the same time, it proceeded to hostile acts against American ships and merchandise, and war appeared inevitable; but President Adams and congress, seeking anxiously to avoid that result, sent John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry as special envoys, to join General Pinckney in an effort to restore friendly understandings with the republic in France. The envoys were not treated discourteously, but they could get no official hearing for months, and were beset, meantime, by emissaries, who seemed to speak for Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, and who demanded gifts for the members of the directory, then governing France. When reports of this experience were published in America the French go-betweens were not named, but designated as X. Y. Z., which caused the matter to be known as the "X. Y. Z. affair." Intense indignation was caused, and an outbreak of actual hostilities occurred, in which the United States frigate *Constellation* fought sharp battles with two French ships, one of which she captured. Hurried military preparations were made, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, with Hamilton next in command. But

John Adams,
president,
1797-1801

Morse,
John Adams

Rupture
with France,
1797-1798

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.,*
2: ch. x

The X. Y. Z.,
correspondence

Naval
hostilities,
1798

Peace
restored

the manners and tone of the French government took on a sudden change. It had to face a formidable coalition of hostile European powers, while its remarkable young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, had placed himself badly in Egypt, and a quarrel in America was not to be desired. Negotiations were opened which resulted in a new treaty, abrogating that of 1778.

The Alien
and Sedition
Acts, 1798

While the war excitement lasted, Republican friendship for France was chilled so much that the Federalists enjoyed a too intoxicating sense of power, and ran to excesses in the use of it. By two acts which they passed, the Alien Act, so-called, and the Sedition Act, aimed especially at certain abusive newspapers of opposing politics and at certain foreign writers, they made a startling attack on personal rights, as well as on the freedom of the press. In denouncing and opposing these high-handed measures, the Republicans went as far in the other direction on a vicious line. Jefferson and Madison gave countenance to the constitutional theory that each State may nullify and refuse obedience to acts of the general government which exceed, in its judgment, the powers delegated to that government; and this dangerous doctrine, which imperiled the union at a later day, was embodied in resolutions adopted by the Kentucky legislature, and in Virginia resolutions, more guarded, at nearly the same time.

Kentucky
and Virginia
resolutions,
1798

Holst,
*Const. and
Pol. History
of the U. S.,*
1: 143-167

Death of
Washington,
Dec. 14, 1799

Overthrow
of the
Federalist
party, 1800

The Federalists gave offense to the country, not only by their arbitrary measures, but by many expressions and signs of undemocratic feelings and views. Their party suffered, moreover, from factious quarrels among its leaders, after the restraining influence of Washington was withdrawn by his sudden death, on the 14th of December, 1799. The Father of his Country had been in no sense a partisan; but his inclination toward Federalist views was plain, and his closest relations in public life were with men on that side. In the election of 1800, the Federalists, supporting Adams for reelection, were defeated, and never had power in the general government again. Jefferson was elected president, and Aaron Burr vice-president.

Before quitting office in the following spring, President Adams improved an opportunity to fill the office of chief

justice of the United States by appointing John Marshall, of Virginia, who presided in the supreme court for the next thirty-four years. In that long term, the profound decisions of Chief Justice Marshall stamped constructions upon the federal constitution which can never be effaced, and which have made it, in theory and in fact, the supreme law of the land.

John Marshall, chief justice

British America

Until 1774, no government was provided for any part of the vast continental territory ceded by France to England in 1763, except a section of eastern Canada, which the king, by proclamation, had named Quebec, and for which he appointed a governor and council, giving them large discretionary powers. All other territory covered by the cession of French claims, including all that lies west of the Appalachian mountain range, which various English colonies had regarded as their own, was treated as a great Indian reserve, open to no settlement, and outside the jurisdictions of colonial law. In 1774, parliament passed the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of the province of Quebec to the Ohio on the south and the Mississippi on the west, thus taking in the greater part of this lawless wild land, and attaching it, not to the neighboring colonial governments, but to that of the remote French province in the north, where free institutions were unknown. The act gave to the French settlers of Quebec the only freedom for which they greatly cared, and that was freedom for the rites of their church. It secured to the Catholic clergy their "accustomed dues and rights," and those wise concessions made most of the existing population indifferent, for a time, to the fact that parliament had imposed upon it a purely arbitrary government, conducted by appointees of the crown. But the act was a new sting of provocation to the neighboring English colonies, and they denounced it the next year, in their declaration of independence, "for abolishing," as they set forth, "the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies."

Formation of the province of Quebec, 1763

(See page 271)

The Quebec Act, 1774

Bourinot, *Manual of Const. Hist. of Canada*, ch. ii-iii

Its offensiveness to the English colonies

Possibly the Roman Catholics of Quebec and Nova Scotia might have joined the Protestants of the English colonies in their revolt, if the representatives of the latter, when they composed an address to the people of England, had not vented their religious prejudice by declaring that parliament had established in Canada "a religion that had deluged their land in blood and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder and rebellion through every part of the world." This most offensive utterance was worth some regiments to the British, no doubt, in the subsequent war, helping them to hold the lately French provinces, and to offer them, in the end, as a place of refuge to the loyalists who fled or were driven from the colonies in revolt. These "united empire loyalists," as they came to be known, are computed to have numbered not less than 35,000 men, women and children, of whom about 25,000 found homes in Nova Scotia, mostly in the part of that province which became New Brunswick, and about 10,000 were settled in Canada, generally on and near the St. Lawrence, west of the Ottawa River, and along the Niagara frontier. They received liberal grants of public lands, and became an element of great influence and importance in the British-American population.

"United
empire
loyalists"

Ellis, in
*Narrative
and Critical
Hist. of
Am.*, 7 : 185-
214

Constitu-
tional Act of
1791

Upper and
Lower
Canada

The Ottawa River formed substantially a line of division between French and English Canadians; and that racial separation was confirmed politically in 1791, by a new constitutional act of the British parliament, which divided the former province of Quebec into the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, the former mostly English in population, the latter French. With a property qualification of the suffrage, both peoples were then given representation in one branch of their provincial legislatures, the other branch being of royal selection, appointed for life.

Nova
Scotia

In Nova Scotia, the colonists had been represented in a legislative assembly since 1758. The province then included what are now New Brunswick, Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and the general population had been increased quite largely, since the removal of the Acadians, by accessions from New England, Great Britain and Germany. In 1784, that part of the old French

Acadia which lies on the northern side of the Bay of Fundy was separated from Nova Scotia, and organized as the province of New Brunswick. The "U. E. Loyalists," so-called, had made it their special domain.

New
Brunswick

The Chinese empire

Late in the reign of Keen-lung the first British embassy to the court at Peking was received with every manifestation of gracious friendliness and hospitality, but no practical concessions to its request for commercial openings and privileges were made. Lord Macartney, who headed the embassy, bore an immense number of gifts to the emperor, and had the mortification of learning, too late, that certain Chinese characters on the flag of the vessel in which he was conveyed up the Peiho to Peking announced him as a "tribute-bearer from England." For some time past English traders had been doing a little business on sufferance at Canton, undergoing many annoyances and humiliations, and that contemptuous sufferance was still extended to them; but Lord Macartney gained nothing more.

British
embassy,
1792

In 1796 Keen-lung, who had reached a great age, abdicated in favor of his son. "The native historians state with justice that during the sixty years of his reign the empire reached its acme of greatness. From the northern steppes of Mongolia to Cochin China, and from Formosa to Nepal, the Chinese armies had fought and conquered."

Abdication
of Keen-
lung

HISTORIC EPOCHS

VI

EPOCH OF SCIENCE, MECHANISM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE TRANSFORM- ING OF THE WORLD

FROM THE NAPOLEONIZING OF THE FRENCH REVOLU-
TION TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SIXTH EPOCH

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON TO THE ADVENT
OF STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY

CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE ADVENT OF GEORGE STEPHENSON AND THE
STEAM RAILWAY TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM
LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESI-
DENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BISMARCK'S
FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE
TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHIEF CHARACTERS OF THE SIXTH EPOCH

In describing this last epoch of history as one characterized by "*the transforming of the world*," the writer reverts to a view of it which he had presented in a former book. Speaking then of the nineteenth century, he remarked that the generations before it, "whether ancient or modern, had found the world in which they lived much the same, so far as concerns the common conditions of life ; but *for us of the present age it has been utterly transformed*. Its distances mean nothing that they formerly did ; its dividing seas and mountains have none of their old effect ; its terrifying pestilences have been half subdued, by discovery of the germs from which they spring ; its very storms, by being sentinelled, have lost half their power to surprise us in our travels or our work. Netting the earth with steam and electric railways, seaming it with canals, wire-stringing it with telegraphic and telephonic lines ; ferrying its oceans with swift, steam-driven ships ; ploughing, planting, harvesting, spinning, weaving, knitting, sewing, writing, printing, doing everything, with cunning machines and with tireless forces borrowed from coal mines and from waterfalls, men are making a new world for themselves out of that in which they lived at the dawning of the era of mechanism and steam.

The transformation of the world

In the conditions of life

"These, however, are but outward features of the change that is being wrought in the world. Socially, politically, morally, it has been undergoing in this epoch a deeper change. The growth of fellow-feeling that began in the last century has been an increasing growth. It has not ended war, nor the passions that cause war, but it is rousing an opposition which gathers strength every year, and it is forcing nations to settle their disputes by arbitration, more and more. It has made democratic institutions of government so common that the few arbitrary governments now remaining in civilized countries seem disgraceful to the people who endure them so long. It has broken many of the old yokes of conquest, and revived the independence of many long-subjugated states. It has swept away unnatural boundary lines, which separated peoples of kindred language and race. It is pressing long-neglected questions of right and

In social relations

justice on the attention of all classes of men, everywhere, and requiring that answers shall be found.

In its aspect
to the mind

Larned,
*History of
England*,
561-2

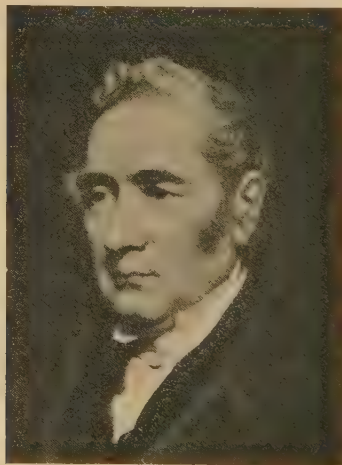
"And, still, even these are but minor effects of the prodigious change that the nineteenth century has brought into the experience of mankind. Far beyond them all in importance are the new conceptions of the universe, the new suggestions and inspirations to all human thought, that science has been giving in these later years. If we live in a world that is different from that which our ancestors knew, it is still more the fact that we think of a different universe, and feel differently in our relations to it."

Robert Ful-
ton, 1765-
1815

This view of the epoch leads us naturally to think first of the men whose genius or work or influence is conspicuous among the causes of a change so prodigious in the conditions of life in the world. Naturally, too, our thoughts turn primarily to the swifter movements of the great transformation, which have been on the side of the physical environments of life. That those took their first marvelous acceleration from the introduction of the steam engine is a plain fact. The steam engine was made a practicable motor by James Watt about 1775; but results from it in the directions now considered were hardly visible before the opening years of the next century. Numer-

ous inventors, in several countries, had then been busy for some years with devices for putting the steam engine afloat, as a propelling power for ships; but Robert Fulton, the American, is the one among them who succeeded first in carrying the invention quite beyond the experimental stage into that of practical use. This was accomplished in 1807; but it was not until 1838 that the revolutionizing of ocean navigation began.

George
Stephenson,
1781-1848



George Stephenson

From painting by Briggs

By that time the humble-born, self-educated Englishman, George Stephenson, had opened a greater revolution in traffic and travel by mounting the steam engine on locomotive wheels and setting the wheels upon iron tracks. The floated engine and the wheeled engine came then

into use together about two generations ago, as the main agents in two processes of human development : (1) by the commingling of men, through travel and migration, and (2) by bringing them into coöperations of labor as wide as the world. Thus far in history, no other single agencies have acted on the circumstances of life with such penetrating social effects.

Next to the inventions that brought steam into the service of mankind, those later ones which subdue and employ the mysterious electric energy have been most wonderful in their transforming effects. Behind the practical inventors in this field lies the work of a long succession of the purely scientific students of electrical phenomena, who brought to light the facts and formulated the laws which invention applied to use. Oersted, the Dane, had to make the discovery of electro-magnetism, before even the true conception of an electric telegraph could be formed ; and studies of electric currents and of electro-magnetic action, by Ampère and Arago, in France, by Faraday, in England, and by Ohm, in Germany, were needed to guide the inventors of the telegraph to success. There were several close competitors for the prize of that invention : Henry and Morse, in America, Wheatstone and Cooke in England,—Morse winning the lead, by devising an alphabet of easily recorded dots and lines, and by being the first to offer a telegraphic line of wires for public use. Distinction equal to that of the inventors seems due to Cyrus W. Field, whose persevering enterprise accomplished the laying of the first great oceanic cable, in 1866.

In the later perfecting of electric telegraphy, carried even to its emancipation from dependency on conducting wires, and in the more amazing development of electric telephony, the scientific achievements of Edison, Bell, Gray, and Marconi appear greater, by far, than the simpler feats of the pioneers in the field.

Until about 1867, the nimble messenger-service of electricity was

Hans Christian Oersted
1777-1851

André Marie Ampère,
1775-1836

Michael Faraday, 1791-
1867

George Simon Ohm,
1787-1874

Samuel F. B. Morse, 1791-
1872



Thomas Edison, 1847-

Edison

From a photograph

Alex. Graham Bell,
1847-

William
Thomson
(Lord Kel-
vin), 1824-

Nikola
Tesla, 1857-

all of much practical importance that it gave to man. Then the dynamic generation of powerful currents, or the transmutation of power from other sources into electro-magnetic force, was begun. From that, within the next two decades, sprang the electric railway and the electric light. These were followed, in another decade, by bold captures from Nature of the mighty gravitational force in her great cataracts, flashing it into electric currents and over miles of distance, to places of convenience

for its use. Out of the host of savants, mechanics and engineers who have borne important parts in that later exploitation of electricity we may distinguish without injustice, perhaps, the Siemens brothers, Werner and Sir William, Professor Thomson, now Lord Kelvin, Nikola Tesla and Elihu Thomson, with Wheatstone and Edison again in the list.

Great engineering works, as well as extraordinary improvements in connected processes and arts, have been associated at every stage with the mastery and utilization of electricity and steam; and these have been



Bessemer

From a photograph

made so common by their multitude that personal distinction from them, publicly recognized, seems hard to win and is quickly lost. Bessemer's revolution in the production of steel, cheapening it to the level of iron and bringing it to common uses, has made an impression that stamps his name on the public memory; De Lesseps' triumph in the construction of the Suez canal, and his pitiable failure at Panama, have marked him with a double notability; Ericsson's dramatic opening of a new era in naval warfare by the timely production of the *Monitor* links him with an enduring episode of history; but most of the marvelous work of late years in applied science and mechanics is appropriated by the world with no more than a momentary identification of the brain from which it comes.

Generally, the gifts of science—the splendid and abounding gifts of the present age and the recent past—are taken in that way, with

Sir Henry
Bessemer,
1813-1898

Ferdinand
De Lesseps,
1805-1894

John Eric-
sson, 1803-
1889

scanty recognition of the givers, beyond some small circle in a professional class. Hundreds of laborious investigators, for example, have contributed to that present-day knowledge of malignant living organisms in nature,—germs of disease,—which it is reasonable to value above any other learning of our time; yet how many among them are known memorably, even in the medical schools? Pasteur, who found the secret of fermentation, who led the way in tracing particular maladies to cognizable germs, and who robbed hydrophobia of half its terrors, did too much to be overlooked in his life or forgotten when he died. Lister, too, the pioneer in antiseptic surgery, and Koch, whose discoveries of the bacilli of cholera and tuberculosis have checked the terrifying outbreaks of the one and armed all communities with power to eradicate the other, may be tolerably sure of lasting names. An unscientific writer can hardly venture to specify more.



Louis
Pasteur,
1822-1895

Pasteur

From a photograph

Sir Joseph
Lister, 1827-

Robert
Koch, 1843-

Pierre Simon
de Laplace,
1749-1827

Baron
Georges Cu-
vier, 1769-
1832

Alex. von
Humboldt,
1769-1859

Jean Louis
Agassiz,
1807-1873

The present writer is fully conscious of the hazard of an undertaking like this, to enroll, without specialized knowledge, the men of most notable achievement in the scientific work of later times. Errors of unjust omission are inevitable, without doubt; errors on the other side ought not to occur. There can be no mistake in giving places here to Laplace, the great French mathematician and astronomer; to Cuvier, recognized head, if not creator, of the science of comparative anatomy; to Herschel, of the famous telescope, who has been called "the virtual founder of sidereal science"; to Humboldt, who seems to have been the master of all knowledge in his day; to Pinel, who humanized the treatment of the insane; to Dalton, originator of the atomic theory in chemistry; to Davy, analyst of the fixed alkalies and contriver of the safety-lamp for miners; to Agassiz, the demonstrator of glacial action in geology; to Fraunhofer, Bunsen and Kirchoff, who began the decipherment of the revelations of the spectrum; to Niépce and Daguerre, the pio-

Hermann
Helmholtz,
1821-1894

Sir Charles
Lyell, 1797-
1875

Asa Gray,
1810-1888

Rudolf Vir-
chow, 1821-
1902

Sir William
Crookes,
1832-

neers of photography ; to Joule, who determined the mechanical equivalent of heat ; to Grove, originator of the conception of the correlation of forces ; to Helmholtz, foremost of modern discoverers in optics and acoustics ; to Lyell and Dana, Gray and Hooker, who hold the highest rank among geologists and botanists of the age ; to Tyndall, the interpreter of physical science to common understanding, and the fruitful investigator in many of its fields ; to Clerk-Maxwell, formulator of the most accepted mathematical theory of electrical phenomena ; to Schwann, whose cell theory became the basis of modern histology, and to Virchow, the founder of cellular pathology ; to Jackson, or Morton, or both, in recognition of their proof that surgery can be made painless by anæsthetics ; to Crookes, Hertz and Röntgen, whose successive discoveries have led to knowledge of the mysterious so-called "X-rays," the usefulness and meaning of which have not yet been half learned.

But the great name of the nineteenth century in science is still unwritten on our scroll. If it is true, as was said at the beginning of this sketch, that science, in these later years, has been giving "new conceptions of the universe" and "new suggestions and inspirations

to all human thought," it is mainly because Darwin, the patient open-minded seeker for the truth of things, gathered convincing evidences of the process of "natural selection" by which an evolution of higher from lower forms of life is brought about. The thought of such a process, with an ascending evolution of being as its concomitant, had occurred to other minds. Wallace, simultaneously with Darwin, described the possible working of natural selection in the varying of species. Spencer had already arrived at the conception of a universal process of evolution in the organic world,



Darwin

From a photograph

had formulated its law and planned an all-embracing philosophy founded thereon. But the long-pursued, careful observations and inductions of Darwin, prejudiced by no theorizing *a priori*,

Charles R.
Darwin,
1809-1882

Alfred R.
Wallace,
1822-

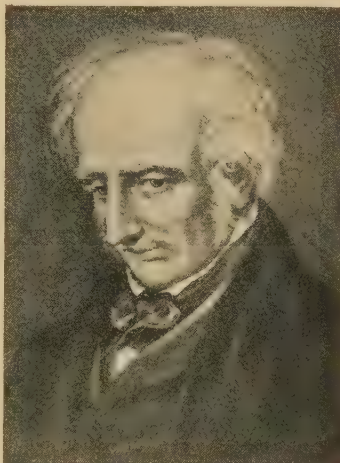
were what made the new doctrine of creation irresistible and fixed it in scientific belief. In the strong body of ardent champions who rose promptly to support and confirm the conclusions of Darwin, Huxley, the most lucid and eloquent of all scientific writers, shines brilliantly preëminent. His agency seems next to that of Darwin in the conversion of mankind to a view which changes the standpoint of all thinking on the deeper problems of existence.

In literature, no less than in science, splendid promises at the opening of the late century were fulfilled with amplitude during two thirds, at least, of its years. The wakening that had been signaled in the song of Burns, to simpler influences from nature, touching warmer depths of feeling, became manifest decisively in Wordsworth's more spiritual verse. At the same time, a corresponding and collateral wakening to more vivid consciousness of the poetry in human life was inspiring, on one hand, the school of bards whose imagination followed Scott's into the unfamiliar past, and the less adventurous school of Byron, on the other hand, which found motives in the life of its own time. Scott, passing from verse to prose fiction, created the romantic historical novel; while Jane Austen perfected the design of the novel of contemporary domestic life.

The three movements or tendencies of imaginative feeling, toward nature, romance and contemporary life, ran everywhere, and were intermingled, more or less, in subsequent poetry and prose fiction, but always with one dominating strain. Goethe's genius was great enough to comprehend them all; yet its own personality was so controlling as to give to his poetry the classic tone of restraint. Patriotic and political feeling entered largely into all German literature during much of the first half of the century, expressing itself warmly in the lyrics of Körner and Arndt, and deeply coloring the satire, the wit and the fancies of the brilliant, cynical Heine; but the romantic

Herbert
Spencer,
1820-1903

Thomas H
Huxley,
1825-1895



William
Wordsworth,
1770-1850

Wordsworth

From painting by Haydon

Sir Walter
Scott, 1771-
1832

George
Noel Gor-
don, Lord
Byron, 1788
1824

Jane Austen,
1775-1817

Ernest
Moritz
Arndt,
1769-1860

Heinrich
Heine,
1797-1856

tendenz is manifest generally in the imaginative writing of the time. This, in the early years, was stimulated ardently by Tieck and Novalis, and satisfied more perfectly, a little later by Uhland, the master balladist of his day.

Madame De
Staël Hol-
stein,
1766-1817

After Rousseau, the starting impulse of the movement that liberated French literature from its long bondage to the old canons called

classical is attributed most largely to Madame de Staël, who roused discontent with the literary spirit and tone that prevailed. Chateaubriand and Lamartine were pioneers in the emancipating movement; but Victor Hugo is the conspicuous chief of what became, in the third and fourth decades of the century, a singularly passionate revolt against the traditional judgments and tastes of the literary public in France. An almost riotous exuberance of freedom obtained indulgence then, for a time; but it underwent, presently, a taming, in poetry and prose fiction, from extreme romanticism to extreme



Victor
Hugo,
1802-1885

Victor Hugo

From a photograph

Alphonse
Lamartine,
1790-1869

Honore de
Balzac,
1799-1850

Baroness
Dudevant
(George
Sand)
1804-1876

Louis Chas.
Alfred de
Musset,
1810-1857

realism, with an ultimate decadence in many writers to sheer animality of sentiment and imagination. Hugo, Vigny and Dumas,—Balzac, George Sand and Béranger,—Gautier and Musset,—Stendhal and Mérimée,—Flaubert and Zola, Baudelaire and Verlaine,—may be said to represent different phases of the change. The charming Erckmann-Chatrian tales, in their pure simplicity, seem to stand by themselves, quite apart from the general stream of tendency in their time. Criticism, as exercised by such writers as Villemain, Sainte-Beuve and Taine, has been an influence of unusual force in France; and the literary quality in serious writing, like that of Renan, is more than commonly an element of power.

More in English literature than in any other, the awakened inspirations from nature and from human life were soon harmonized and fused, with rich variations of effect. The fusion appears even in Wordsworth, who caught suggestions of thought or feeling from simple incidents of common life, as readily as his eye caught

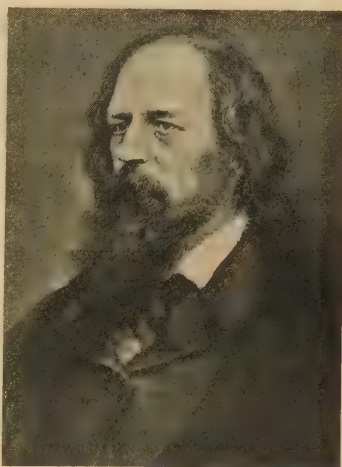
the beauty and the hint of simple objects that he found in his walks. It does not appear in Coleridge, fatally compounded as he was of the poet and the analyzing critic,—a positive deformation of genius. All that is finest in his poetry is from sources within himself; romantic in the spirit, but fabricated from nothing out of any known past, and showing little sign of the seeing eye. But the poems of Shelley are one product of the fusion we speak of, while another, very different, is found in the poetry of Keats. The inexhaustible delightfulness of nature was felt intensely by both. Shelley blended it with profounder feelings, from the depths of a heart that was pained by the sufferings of humanity and angered by its wrongs. Keats, on the contrary, Greek-like in his genius, could take no inspiration from pain or wrong, or from anything adverse to the joy of life and the beauty of the world. He had to look into some twilighted past for visions of imagined life that would harmonize with the aspects of nature that he loved.

Samuel
Taylor
Coleridge,
1772-1834

Percy
Bysshe
Shelley,
1792-1822

John Keats,
1795-1821

And now we approach a generation that began to be moved profoundly by those great revelations of science that have changed the tenor of all thought. The pondering, questioning spirit of a scientific age entered poetry, charging the highest efforts in it with a deeper thoughtfulness, turning them on the problems of existence that fret our minds. This graver tone and weightier substance came slowly into the poetry of Tennyson, took possession of Browning's and gave its finest quality to Matthew Arnold's verse. Morris, who revived romanticism, tinged with socialistic feelings of the later growth, shows nothing of the scientific influence; nor do any of the chief American poets of the same generation. Bryant ceased to sing when his youth was passed, and a busy city took him into its life, and he lost touch with nature. To Longfellow all influences from nature and life, past and present, were inspiring; but he was not moved to deal with the problems of his age. Nor was Lowell, critic,



Alfred, Lord
Tennyson,
1809-1892

Tennyson

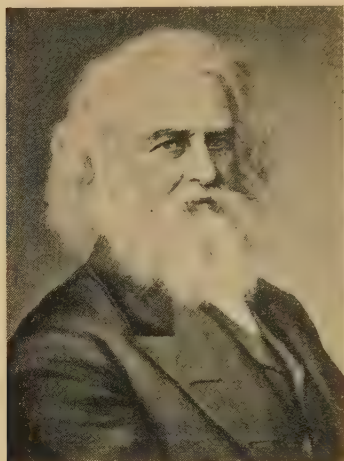
From a portrait by Krämer

Robert
Browning,
1812-1889

humorist, satirist,—warmly romantic at the bottom of all. Least of all did Whittier, equal lover of God, nature and man, touch any

such questioning in his sweet and simple song. As for Poe, he was like a Coleridge of lighter genius on the critical and philosophic side. He took little from and gave little to any outward influence, drawing his poetry from sources of suggestion and imagination within himself. Emerson, alone, in America, tintured a subtly pregnant verse, as well as a rarely cogent prose, with the profoundest thinking of the age.

Romantically as the imagination of the English novel-reading world had been excited by Scott, the pure romance did not hold its place long in English literature. There were no mas-



Longfellow

From portrait by Krämer

ters to uphold it after Sir Walter died, except Hawthorne, the American, who found a realm of psychological romance in the Puritan past of New England, and explored it with a dark-lanterned imagination. In constructive art and purity of English prose the work of Hawthorne has hardly been surpassed. The other great writers of prose fiction who followed Scott found more to interest and move them in the life of their own day than in that of the past.

Thackeray, with his fine discernment of character and of the play of mixed motives in human action, could and did compose historical novels that are nearer to perfection than any of Scott's; but his art was still finer and more perfect in the keenly satirical and no less keenly true pictures that he drew of society as he saw it in the living state. Dickens had none of that artistic fineness in his work, but he was far beyond Thackeray in creative power. He went to real life, not so much for characters as for hints of eccentricity, out of which to create characters that have the seeming of reality, while they bear their maker's stamp. They are not real to our experience, but easily become real to our imagination; and the same is true of the whole structure of the society into which we are carried by one of Dickens's tales. We know nothing quite like it; it has no actuality but that

Henry W.
Longfellow,
1807-1882

Ralph
Waldo
Emerson,
1803-1882

Nathaniel
Hawthorne,
1804-1864

William
Makepeace
Thackeray,
1811-1863

which it takes from his pen ; yet that seems to be enough His creative achievement, in fact, is unique : it is nothing less than the fabrication of a *Dickens world*, peopled wonderfully with a multitudinous community of Dickens characters, all consistent with it and with themselves. There is nothing else in imaginative literature with which it can rightly be compared.

After Thackeray and Dickens, the name of greatest eminence among English novelists is unquestionably that of George Eliot, who brought to the study of character, and to the artistic observation of life, a quality of intellectual power very different from that of any other great writer of fiction, unless Balzac may be thought to show somewhat the same. It seems to be the power of a profoundly rational mind, lending itself to imaginative tasks, not spontaneously, but under the constraint of a marvelous self-command.

If these masters of prose fiction stand apart, in a class of their own, that most fertile field of English literature has been thronged for six decades, at least, with writers of the second rank. The number is too great for more than mention in this place : Kingsley, Bulwer, Disraeli, Charlotte Brontë, Mrs. Gaskell, Reade, Hughes, Trollope, Stevenson (whose higher rank as a great literary artist is in another company), Macdonald, Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Ewing, in Great Britain, and Cooper, Mrs. Stowe, Bret Harte, in America,—who will question the right of these to a place in our list ? From living writers we will venture no choice of names.

Outside of fiction, in English prose, what brilliant, beautiful, powerful work has been done within the last hundred years, in widely differing styles ! Lamb, in the first generation of the century, Stevenson in the last,—each from his own delightful personality and in the spirit of his own age,—exemplify the high charm of that limpid, natural flow of written discourse which nothing but a genius of perfect naïveté and sincerity can yield. De Quincey tests the flexibility of



Charles
Dickens,
1812-1870

Dickens

From a photograph

Marian
Evans Cross
(George
Eliot),
1819-1880

Charles
Kingsley,
1819-1875

Charlotte
Brontë,
1816-1855

Harriet
Beecher
Stowe,
1811-1860

Charles
Lamb,
1775-1834

Robert
Louis
Stevenson,
1850-1894

Thomas De
Quincey,
1785-1859

John
Ruskin,
1819-1900

the language in subtle intricacies of inconclusive thought. Ruskin develops its pictorial capacities and brings to light new beauties of verbal effect. Carlyle moulds it into strange and striking forms of

expression, which he uses with a power that is more extraordinary than the power of the thought conveyed. Hazlitt, Hunt, Landor, Mill, Bagehot, Huxley, Martineau, Newman, Symonds, Matthew Arnold, in England, and Irving, Emerson, Thoreau, Holmes, Curtis, in America,—each for his own purpose makes it a potent, satisfying vehicle of such message as he has for the world.

No branch of the literature of knowledge has more to give distinction to its work in this period than the historical ; and that is true equally if we judge it by the carefulness of preparatory investi-



Carlyle

From a photograph

Thomas
Carlyle,
1795-1881

Leopold von
Ranke,
1795-1886

Louis
Adolphe
Thiers,
1797-1877

Thomas
Babington,
Baron
Macaulay,
1800-1859

Francis
Parkman,
1823-1893

Isidore
Auguste
Comte,
1798-1857

Georg
Wilhelm
Hegel,
1770-1831

gation, by the conscientious candor of treatment, or by the literary excellence of composition. In Ranke, Mommsen, Häusser, Curtius, of Germany, Thierry, Guizot, Barante, Michelet, Martin, Thiers, of France, Hallam, Macaulay, Grote, Stubbs, Freeman, Green, Lecky, Gardiner, of England, Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Parkman, Fiske, of the United States, we have a list of historians which all the preceding centuries, together, from Thucydides to Gibbon, cannot match.

Apart from Germany, the notable and influential contributions to philosophical thinking, in the nineteenth century, were few. From France, Comte's skeptical system of "positive philosophy" made, for some time, a marked impression, which has waned since the project of a new religion was erected upon it. Hamilton, in Scotland, gave rise to wide discussion in his day by attempts to mediate between the transcendentalism of Kant and the common sense of Reid. The later movements of British thought in these regions have turned to controversy over the evolutionary principle worked out by Herbert Spencer and his school. It is in Germany that philosophy has had its chosen home since it was domiciled by Kant ; and every generation there has taken famous new systems from famous new

teachers,— Fichte, Hegel, Herbart, Schelling, Schopenhauer, Lotze, Hartmann,— in an unbroken line.

Arthur
Schopen-
hauer,
1788-1860

Now, at last, we may turn to the conspicuous actors in public affairs. In any former century they would have filled most of the stage and dominated the history of the time ; for no period of equal length was ever productive of more stirring or more pregnant political events ; but the greater marks on humanity and the world are made no longer by the energies that operate in politics and war. What are the marks that Napoleon left, compared with those visible or felt by all mankind, to-day, from the work of Watt and Stephenson or from the thoughtful studies of Darwin and Pasteur ? Large as he looks in the story of his brutal career, the great Corsican adventurer shrinks to a poor figure when the real outcome of his life is measured up. He was the incarnation of genius in those modes of intellectual power which bear upon the mastery of momentary circumstances and the command of men. But he had no spark of the higher genius that might have directed such powers to great ends. The soul behind his genius was ignoble, the spirit was mean ; and his genius had its narrowness even on the intellectual side. His selfish projects were never sagacious, never far-sighted, thoughtfully studied, wisely planned. There is no appearance in any part of his career of a pondered policy, guiding him to a well-determined result from what he did. The circumstances of any moment, whether on the battlefield or in the political arena, he could handle with a swift apprehension, a mastery and a power that may never have been surpassed. But much commoner men have apprehended and have commanded in a larger and more successful way the general sweep of circumstances in their lives. It is that fact which belittles Napoleon in the comparison often made between him and Cæsar.

Probably he was Cæsar's equal in war ; but who can imagine Cæsar, in Napoleon's place, committing the blunders of blind arro-



Napoleon
Bonaparte,
1769-1821

Napoleon

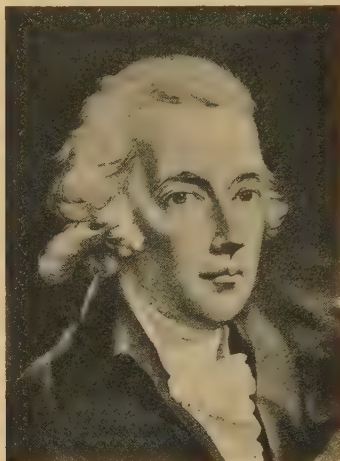
From painting by David

Arthur
Wellesley,
duke of
Wellington,
1769-1852

gance which ruined the latter in Germany and Spain, or undertaking his fatuous "continental system" against British trade?

On his own plane of character and genius, as a heartless warrior, Napoleon was unrivaled,—a prodigy, such as Providence has rarely

permitted to be born, for the affliction of mankind. None who contended with him in war were nearly his equals,—neither Wellington and Blücher, who overcame him finally at Waterloo, nor Nelson, who forbade him the use of the sea; and opposing statesmanship was paralyzed by his military success. Moreover, unfortunately, no statesman of the first order came to power in Europe in that time of great need. Pitt, his foremost opponent, was a skillful parliamentarian, an effective speaker, a financier of ability, and he organized the European resistance with considerable skill; but he had



William
Pitt, the
younger,
1759-1806

Pitt

From painting by Hickel

Horatio,
Viscount
Nelson,
1758-1805

Charles
James Fox,
1749-1806

Prince
Metternich-
Winneburg,
1773-1859

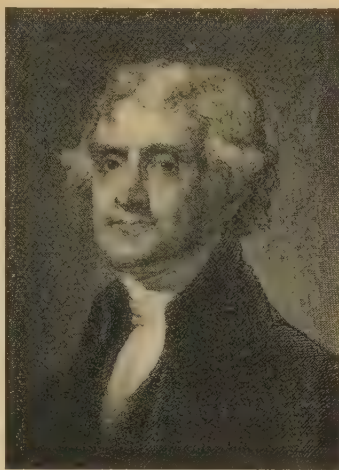
Heinrich
Friedrich,
Baron von
Stein,
1757-1831

Prince Karl
August von
Hardenberg,
1750-1822

nothing of his father's inspiring genius or force. Fox, the warm-hearted, the eloquent, the reckless, pleasure-loving man of personal charm, is hardly to be thought of as an efficient master of ministerial power. Metternich was too narrow, too limited in every way for dealing with situations like those which the French revolution and Napoleon had brought about. Stein and Hardenberg, who raised Prussia from her prostrate state, and prepared her for the subsequent leadership that made Germany what it is, found their opportunity too late for effects upon the European conflict till its end approached; but their work counts in history, from its durable results, for infinitely more than time has sifted out of the wreckage of ephemeral empire which Napoleon left.

American statesmanship, in the Napoleonic period, took from Jefferson a cast or spirit that was strangely misfitted to that stormy and strenuous time. It applied humanitarian and philosophic principles to circumstances in which philosophy and humanitarian sentiment were least likely to have force, and the experiment did not succeed. Measured by the lasting influence of his political opinions

in the United States,—the profound impress of his thought and feeling on American democracy, and the fundamental quality which that shows in them,—Jefferson was more than a great statesman, for he was a great political chief,—the founder of an indestructible political creed ; but his practical administration of government showed more weakness than strength. So, too, did Madison's, when he came to the helm of government in those difficult years. Madison the president was far from being the peer of Madison the chief architect of the federal constitution. As for those who took, practically, the reins from Madison, and drove the young republic



Thomas
Jefferson,
1743-1826

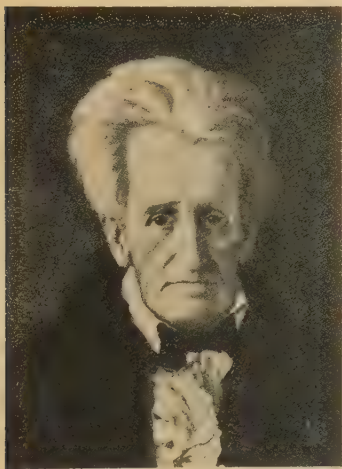
Jefferson

From painting by Gilbert Stuart

James
Madison,
1751-1836

into what was no less than an alliance with Napoleon against Great Britain, they were mere boyish minded young patriots and politicians, with no maturity of experience and judgment, such as statesmanship requires. Clay, their leader, kept something of the same buoyant boyishness in his nature through life, and it gave him no small part of his personal charm and his political success.

Henry Clay
1777-1852



Andrew Jackson

From painting by Healy

Andrew
Jackson,
1767-1845

thorough honesty of purpose in Andrew Jackson, were elements of a measureless personal power, when the masses of the people

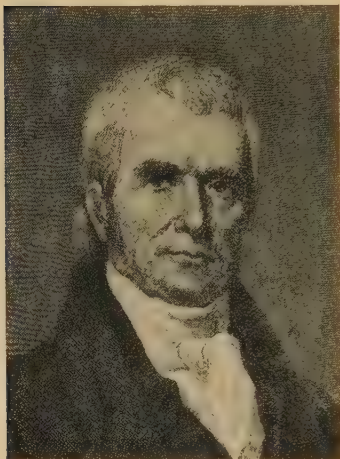
It was one of the misfortunes to the United States of the war of 1812-15 that it created a popular hero who was not qualified for usefulness in that part. The prodigious force of will, the unlimited self-confidence and the

gave their confidence to him ; and the rude training of the man, undisciplined and ill-informed as he was, made it a very dangerous power. It is a matter for wonder that the country suffered no more harm than it did from his autocracy of eight years and his dominating influence for a much longer time.

In the years between Jefferson and Jackson, the character of most

importance in American history is that homely man, of inerrable logic, the chief-justice Marshall, whose interpreting decisions were then giving to the federal constitution of the republic a nationalizing base, so solid in principle that it has resisted every shock.

The European revolutions of 1830, which started the undoing of the work of the "holy alliance," brought no striking character into prominence ; but it was then that Mazzini's life of exile and laborious conspiracy, to rouse Italy against its many oppressors, was begun. On the surface of history there is little to be seen of the fruits of his



John Marshall

John
Marshall,
1755-1835

Giuseppe
Mazzini,
1805-1872

Giuseppe
Garibaldi,
1807-1882

Louis
Kossuth,
1802-1894

labor ; but no small part of the spirit that unified Italy at last, under a constitutional government, sprang undoubtedly from the seed which Mazzini, with faithful patience, had been sowing for forty years.

The dramatic revolutions of 1848 brought figures of more distinction on the scene. The picturesque Garibaldi, simple in habit, romantic in spirit, audacious in boldness, ready for any enterprise and any responsibility, came from fourteen years of exile in South America, to serve a few months of revolutionary apprenticeship in Italy, and then retired to exile again, and to humble candle-making, at New York. Kossuth, in Hungary, emerged from quiet missionary labors in patriotic journalism, to be raised, first, to sudden fame in the leadership of a great national revolt, and then to greater fame when failure drove him from his country, sending him to amaze and dazzle the English-speaking world with his marvelous eloquence in a newly-learned tongue. In France, an infatuated people took up a shallow adventurer, and lifted him to the summit of distinction and

power, merely because he bore a name that ought to have carried warning in itself. It was according to the plainest probability that a second Napoleon Bonaparte would be a poor imitator of the first, impelled by like meannesses of nature, but weakly, with no imposing brilliancy and force; and so there was nothing to disappoint any reasonable expectation in that ignoble career which ended, after twenty-two years, in the crumbling of a rotten "second empire," with France crushed beneath the ruins of its fall.

Great Britain passed through both of the periods of revolutionary excitement without serious disturbance of public order, because peaceful revolution, through pressure of public opinion and force of law, had been made practicable to the English race by centuries of constitutional experience. Englishmen, in 1830, were demanding a more real representation in parliament, and would, if necessary, have made the demand with arms in hand; but there was no such need. Two years later the reform of parliament was won by Earl Grey ("a pure and lofty character," says Goldwin Smith), who had persisted in contention for the measure since the days of Fox and Pitt. Possible rebellion in Ireland had been averted in 1829 by the great measure of partial justice known as "Catholic emancipation," which Daniel O'Connell, the most gifted and powerful leader that has ever arisen in Ireland, forced even a Tory government to concede. Similarly, in 1848, England had been pacified in advance of the continental convulsions by the repeal, in 1846, of the oppressive and iniquitous corn-laws, brought about by a great "campaign of education," organized and led by Cobden, the invincible champion of freedom for industry and trade.

Peel, the Conservative premier who accepted and adopted that measure of repeal, deserves high honor for the open mind, the candor, the spirit above party, which led him, then and after, to break away

Louis
Napoleon
Bonaparte
(Napoleon
III.),
1808-1873



Garibaldi

From a photograph

Charles,
Earl Grey,
1764-1845

Daniel
O'Connell,
1775-1847

Richard
Cobden,
1804-1865

Sir Robert
Peel,
1788-1850

William
Ewart
Gladstone,
1809-1898



Gladstone

From a photograph

Benjamin
Disraeli,
Earl of
Beacons-
field,
1804-1881

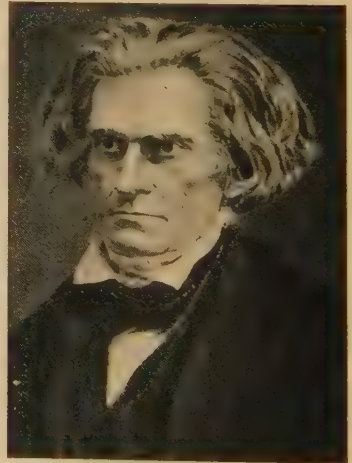
tory, whatever the final verdict on his statesmanship may be. If Disraeli (Beaconsfield), his life-long opponent in politics and his opposite in every attribute of character, keeps a place of distinction in history, it will be, as he would probably prefer it to be, among the practitioners of dexterity in politics, who make the most of opportunity when it comes their way.

In most parts of Europe, the last supports of arbitrary monarchy and class domination were being shaken down ; but chattel slavery, the worst relic of barbaric institutions, appeared to be fastening itself more fixedly, as a hideous and incongruous parasite, on the democracy of the United States. It was strengthened by the passionate recklessness of the disunion spirit in Garrison's abolition crusade, until

William
Lloyd
Garrison,
1804-1879

John C.
Calhoun,
1782-1850

from the old class-protective Toryism in which he had been schooled. The same honor, in a measure even greater, is due to Gladstone, who went with Peel in the notable departure of 1846, turning toward liberalism, to become in time the chief of a new party of political progress and courageous reform. In his freedom from bondage to his own mistakes of opinion or act, in his capacity for large and larger convictions, in the intrepidity of his respect for public opinion, in the ethical authority that he acquired, Gladstone is a nobly shining character in British his-

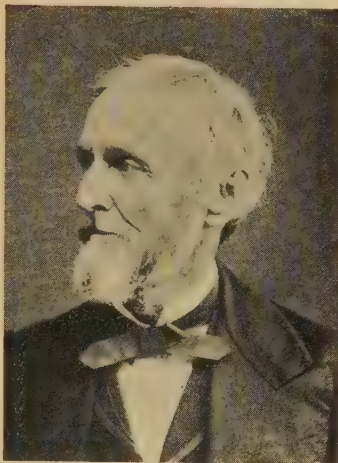


Calhoun

From a photograph

Calhoun, the accepted champion and counselor of the slaveholding

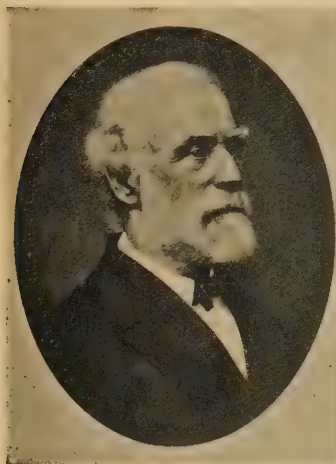
interest, destroyed that effect by the more alarming spirit of his defense. Believing in slavery as a righteous social system, and confident of its perpetuity, while recognizing its incompatibility with the freedom of thought and speech that democracy had developed in the non-slaveholding States, Calhoun persuaded himself and his followers that the daunting and restraining of that freedom, on the one subject of slavery, was a practicable thing to do. For some years there was astonishing success in their measures to that end. Mere politicians *were* daunted and made submissive to their resolute dictation. The inevitable revolt of northern spirit was tardy and slow, but it grew. The voice that



Jefferson Davis
From a photograph

roused it most was the voice of John Quincy Adams, the venerable ex-president, who would not and could not be silenced on the floor of congress, in his vindication of the constitutional right of petition, which the Calhounists had denied.

John
Quincy
Adams,
1767-1848



General Lee
From a photograph

Then came the period of a dozen years in which the old parties crumbled steadily, and the political forces of the country were drawn by degrees into two sectional camps, while statesmen of the elder school, like Clay, "the great compromiser," and Webster, — worshiper of the Union and the constitution, greatest of American senators,

Daniel
Webster,
1782-1852

most superb of American orators,—made vain attempts to hold the middle ground. Douglas, the adroit, resourceful, vigorous

Stephen A.
Douglas,
1813-1861

**General Grant**

From a photograph

Abraham
Lincoln,
1809-1865

William H.
Seward,
1801-1872

Edwin M.
Stanton,
1814-1869

Salmon P.
Chase,
1808-1873

Jefferson
Davis,
1808-1889

cernment and understanding of the people,—all, in fact, that made him the beloved “Father Abraham” of the country,—were factors in the conflict of more final potency than measures in congress or armies in the field. He was wise with a wisdom which nothing but genius bestows. It was not in the shrewd, diplomatic brain of Seward, nor in the resolute and willful mind of Stanton, nor in the large, strong intellect of Chase. Lincoln could *feel* the argument and meaning of events. And so it happened that all he did and all he said in the great crises of the conflict were done and said with a timeliness, a fitness, an effect, which no calculating sagacity could have hit.

Providence did not favor the rebellious Confederacy with so choice a gift. Davis, its chief, was an able, strong, experienced man, but only of the better grade in

“opportunist” of a younger generation, was the last to make that hopeless attempt.

In 1861 the two political camps became armies, and civil war began. Many reasons may be found for explaining why slavery perished in the war and the Union was saved from dissolution, but the one discernible reason that outweighs all others is in the fact that Abraham Lincoln led the winning cause. His wise mind, his simple magnanimity of temper, his perfection of lucid speech, his plain straightforwardness in thought and deed, his unequaled dis-

**Farragut**

From a photograph



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

a common political class. There was nothing of a fatherly character in his relations to the cause for which he stood; nothing in his personality that centered the cause in himself, as Lincoln's did, warming devotion to it from his own devotion, and strengthening public faith by his own abiding faith. It was Lee, not Davis, who held that place in the Confederacy, when he came to be known for what he was. He was the high-souled great character, as well as the great soldier of the contest, on its southern side; a figure more nearly companioned to that of Lincoln than any other in the history of the civil war.



Count di Cavour

From a painting by Mitzmacher

That Lee was the ablest soldier of all who fought in the war, on either side, can hardly be questioned by a candid mind. Who can believe that Grant or Sherman, with Lee's resources and his task, would have accomplished what he did, or that Stonewall Jackson could have taken Lee's place? They deserve their fame, as admirable soldiers, each notably representative of a type; but Lee seems entitled to a rank with Frederick the Great, with Marlborough, with Cromwell, who represent a superior type.

Farragut's exploits in the war are equaled by nothing that has been done in naval warfare since Nelson ended his career.



Bismarck

From a photograph

During the conflict in America and within a few subsequent years, two achievements of constructive statesmanship that are not sur-

Robert E.
Lee,
1807-1870

Ulysses S.
Grant,
1822-1885

William T.
Sherman,
1820-1891

Thomas J.
(Stonewall)
Jackson,
1824-1863

David G.
Farragut,
1801-1870

Count
Helmuth
von Moltke,
1800-1891



Moltke

From a photograph

Camillo
Benso,
Count di
Cavour,
1810-1861

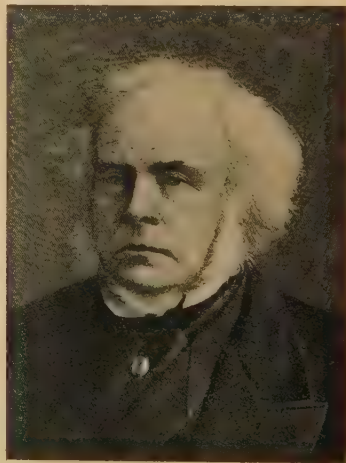
Prince von
Otto
Bismarck,
1815-1898

missioned and independent commander of an army formed without authority of law. On the other hand, Bismarck, builder of a federated German empire, had, for the base of his structure, a compact Prussian nation; for his master-workman, a strong king; for his mighty implement of force an army moulded, marshaled and directed by Moltke, the most consummate military organizer of modern times. The greatness of Bismarck's work was in his powerful bending of circumstances, to produce the opportunities for which he had prepared. That of Cavour's was in the fitting of his means and his tools to such circumstances as came.

Alexander
II., of
Russia,
1818-1881

If we pause, as seems best, when we come to living men, our list is nearly filled. We must take into it the czar who gave freedom to the Russian serfs, though he angered his subjects by later oppres-

passed in history were accomplished in the European world. That of Cavour, the architect of a united Italy, was, perhaps, the finer work of art; for his resources were slender and his difficulties were great. His footing was a small kingdom, of no prestige, till he won a little for it by engaging in the Crimean war. His source of authority was a not very popular king. His main dependence was on foreign help and Italian revolution, both serving him with intentions adverse to his own. His most effective military instrument was Garibaldi, self-com-



John Bright

From a photograph

to the Russian serfs, though he angered his subjects by later oppres-

sions and was horribly slain. We must give a place to the good English queen whose long influence in her own wide realm and in the world was all for good. We must surely admit to it the great-hearted, golden-tongued apostle of peace and righteousness, John Bright. Thiers, who did notable work in the founding of the third republic of France on the ruins of the second empire, cannot with justice be left out; nor can Deak, the master-spirit of the movement that restored Hungary to a footing of distinct nationality, in the Austro-Hungarian empire.

Queen
Victoria,
1819-1901

John
Bright,
1811-1889

Ferencz
Deak,
1803-1876

Finally, for a moment, we may turn to Africa, and note the work of Livingstone, whose missionary explorations were the first to waken a wide, general interest in the bringing of that vast unknown part of the earth into relations with the civilized world; then of Speke, Burton and Baker, who solved the mysteries of the Nile; then of Stanley, who revealed the enormous stretch of the Congo and the expanse of its valley; and lastly of Rhodes and Kruger, representatives of rival ambitions, whose antagonized projects of African dominion caused the terrible Boer war. These names of a few among the men, in our own generation, who have been drawing a long-observed continent out of prehistoric darkness into historic light may properly conclude our scroll.

David
Livingstone,
1813-1873

Henry M.
Stanley
(John
Rowlands),
1841-1904

Cecil
Rhodes,
1853-1902

Paul
Kruger,
died 1904

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE DEATH OF WASHINGTON TO THE ADVENT OF STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY

(1799 TO 1830)

The days of absolute government numbered.—History assuming a new tenor.—Beginning of a transformation of the world. *The Napoleonic Wars*: Second defeat of Austria.—Reconstruction of Germany.—Napoleon emperor.—Austerlitz and Trafalgar.—Subjugation of Prussia.—Warfare by destruction of trade.—Napoleon's crime against Spain.—The Spanish uprising.—The humiliation of Germany.—The making of Prussia.—Napoleon in Russia.—Beginning of his overthrow. His fall.—His return from Elba.—Waterloo.—St. Helena. *The United States of America during the Napoleonic Wars*: Neutral trade.—Humiliations endured.—Presidency of Jefferson.—The Louisiana purchase.—Wrongs and insults from England and France.—English claim to a right of search.—Madison's presidency.—Napoleon's knavery.—War of 1812 with England.—Beginning of a conscious national life. *Europe after the fall of Napoleon*: The English corn laws.—Reconstruction work of the Congress of Vienna.—The Holy Alliance.—Revolutions of 1820 and 1830.—Ireland and Catholic emancipation. *New departure in social progress*: Effects of steamboat and railway. *The United States after the war of 1812*: Steam navigation.—Canal building. "The cotton gin."—Its effects on slavery. Question of slavery in the Territories.—The Missouri compromise.—The "Monroe doctrine." *British America*: Discontent in the Canadas. *Spanish America*: Revolt and Independence of Spanish provinces. *Santo Domingo*: Revolt.—Slave rising.—Toussaint L'Ouverture. *Brazil*: Founding of the independent empire. *Australia*: Growth of New South Wales. *India*: Extension of British rule.

When the nineteenth century began, the days of absolute government had been numbered for all Christendom, excepting possibly for the empire of the Russian czar. Though it seemed to have been not much injured by the great shock from France, yet its bases had been broken beyond repair, and gave way in its formidable seats, one after the other, till the czar was left alone in his autocracy, among the princes of the Christian world. Napoleon, with all his prestige and his masterfulness, failed to found a new absolutism in France, even for the term of his own

The
crumbling
of absolute
governments

life; and the subsequent labors of the "holy alliance" of European kings were undone in a generation. By the middle of the nineteenth century it had been determined, past disputing, that civilized peoples, within the range of Christendom at least, would have a voice in their own government, and that the powers of government would be constitutionally defined. The fundamental political issue, between sovereigns and subjects, that had filled so much of past history, was thus settled substantially, and cleared away, so far as concerned the leading nations of the world.

Hence history has assumed a new tenor. Room has been made in the life of the peoples for so many more energies to become active,—for so many more interests to acquire a motive force,—that the whole plot and character of the human drama have undergone a prodigious change. Multitudes are on the stage, where a few figures were in action before. Parties are casting ballots where kings used to be signing decrees. The masses—the populace—that were curtained formerly out of historical sight, are now busy and conspicuous in every scene, using the freedom of opportunity that has been opened to men, for each to make the most of his faculties and powers. In scientific discovery, in mechanical invention, in commercial and industrial enterprise, in educational and reformatory social work, millions, of the last two or three generations, have been contributing to the improvement of the conditions of human life, where thousands were contributing before; and the result of their labors already is a "transformation of the world."

History
assuming a
new tenor

Emergence
of the masses
into historical
activity

First period of the Napoleonic wars

In the first year of his consulate, Bonaparte recovered Italy by an extraordinary campaign, in which his main army, of 40,000 men, crossing the Alps at the Great St. Bernard pass, struck the Austrians in the rear of their position, defeated them on the plain of Marengo, and won back all the losses of the previous year. At the same time, Moreau, on the northern side of the Alps, gained the victory of Hohenlinden, and Austria was forced to make peace on Bonaparte's terms. In the treaty of Luneville she renewed the concessions of Campo Formio, and assented to a reconstruction of Germany under the victor's

Lanfrey,
*History of
Napoleon I.*,
vol. 2, and
vol. 3, ch.
i-ix

Second de-
feat of Aus-
tria, 1800-
1801

Treaty of
Luneville,
Feb. 9, 1801

Reconstruc-
tion of
Germany

dictation. The ecclesiastical states were secularized, the freedom of all save six of the forty-eight imperial cities was extinguished, and Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Saxony were aggrandized as protégés and dependencies of France.

England
alone against
Napoleon

England was now left alone in the war, with hostile feeling raised against her in Europe and America by the arrogant use she had made of her mastery of the sea. The neutral powers had been embittered by her maritime pretensions, and Bonaparte brought about the organization among them of a northern league of armed neutrality.

April 1, 1801

England broke it with a single blow, by Nelson's bombardment of Copenhagen and seizure of the Danish fleet. Napoleon, however, had conceived the plan of starving English industries and ruining British trade by a "continental system" of blockade, which involved the compulsory exclusion of British ships and British goods from Europe at large. This impossible project committed him to a desperate struggle for the subjugation of Europe. It was the fundamental cause of his ruin.

Napoleon's
continental
system

"The significance then of the Peace of Luneville lay in this: not only that it was the close of the earlier revolutionary struggle for supremacy in Europe, the abandonment by France of her effort to 'liberate the peoples,' to force new institutions on the nations about her by sheer dint of arms; but that it marked the concentration of all her energies on a struggle with Britain for the supremacy of the world. . . . To strike at England's wealth had been among the projects of the directory: it was now the dream of the first consul. It was in vain for England to produce, if he shut her out of every market. Her carrying-trade must be annihilated if he closed every port against her ships. It was this gigantic project of a 'continental system' that revealed itself as soon as Buonaparte became finally master of France."

Green, *His-
tory of the
English
People*, 4 :
bk. 9, ch. v

In 1802 the first consul advanced his restoration of absolutism in France a second step, by securing the consulate for life. A short interval of peace with England was arranged, but war broke out anew the following year, and the English had no allies for a time. The French occupied Hanover, and the Germans were quiescent. But,

Peace of
Amiens,
March, 1802

in 1804, Bonaparte shocked Europe by the abduction from Baden and execution of the Bourbon prince, Duc d'Enghien, and began again to challenge the interference of the surrounding powers by a new series of aggressive acts. His ambition had thrown off all disguise. He transformed the republic of France into an empire, so-called, and himself, by title, from consul Bonaparte into emperor Napoleon, compelling the pope to crown him as such, in the ancient cathedral of Notre Dame. The Cisalpine or Italian republic received soon afterward the constitution of a kingdom, and he took the crown to himself, as king of Italy. Genoa and surrounding territory (the Ligurian republic) were annexed, at nearly the same time, to France; several duchies were declared to be dependencies, and an Italian principality was given to Napoleon's elder sister.

Napoleon crowned emperor, Dec. 2, 1804; also, king of Italy, April, 1805

The effect produced in Europe by such arbitrary and admonitory proceedings as these enabled Pitt, the younger, now at the head of the English government, to form an alliance, first with Russia, afterward with Austria, Sweden and Naples, and finally with Prussia, to break the yoke which the French emperor had put upon Italy, Holland, Switzerland and Hanover, and to resist his further aggressions.

Third European coalition, 1805

The amazing energy and military genius of Napoleon never had more astonishing proof than in the swift campaign which broke this coalition at Ulm and Austerlitz. Austria was forced to another humiliating treaty, which surrendered Venice and Venetia to the conqueror's new kingdom of Italy; gave up Tyrol to Bavaria; yielded other territory to Würtemberg, and raised both electors to the rank of kings, while making Baden a grand duchy, territorially enlarged. Prussia was dragged by force into alliance with France, and took Hanover as pay.

Ulm and Austerlitz, Oct. 19 and Dec. 2, 1805

But England triumphed at the same time on her own element, and Napoleon's dream of carrying his legions across the Channel, as Cæsar did, was dispelled forever by Nelson's dying victory at Trafalgar. That battle, which destroyed the combined navies of France and Spain, ended hope of contending successfully with the Britons at sea.

Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805

France was never permitted to learn the seriousness of

Confeder-
ation of the
Rhine

End of the
Holy Roman
Empire, Aug.
6, 1806

Subjugation
of Prussia

Jena and
Auerstadt,
Oct. 14, 1806

Treaty of
Tilsit, July,
1807

The bribery
of the czar

Trafalgar, and it put no check on the vaulting ambition in Napoleon, which now began to o'erleap itself. He gave free reign to his arrogance in all directions. The king of Naples was expelled from his kingdom and the crown conferred on Joseph Bonaparte; Louis Bonaparte was made king of Holland; southern Germany was reconstructed again. The little German kingdoms of Napoleon's creation and the small states surrounding them were declared to be separated from the ancient empire, and were formed into a Confederation of the Rhine, under the protection of France. Warned by this rude announcement of the precarious tenure of his imperial title as the head of the Holy Roman empire, Francis II. resigned it, and took to himself, instead, a title as meaningless as that which Napoleon had assumed,—the title of emperor of Austria. The venerable fiction of the Holy Roman empire disappeared from history on the 6th of August, 1806.

But, while Austria had become submissive to the offensive measures of Napoleon, Prussia became fired with unexpected, sudden wrath, and declared war in October, 1806. It was a rash explosion of national resentment, and the rashness was paid for dearly. At Jena and Auerstadt (two battles fought on the same day) Prussia sank under the feet of the merciless conqueror, as helplessly subjugated as a nation could be. Russia, attempting her rescue, was overcome at Eylau and Friedland; and both the vanquished powers came to terms with the victor at Tilsit. The king of Prussia gave up all his kingdom west of the Elbe, and all that it had acquired in the second and third partitions of Poland. A new German kingdom, of Westphalia, was constructed for Napoleon's youngest brother, Jerome. A free state of Danzig, dependent on France, and a grand duchy of Warsaw, were formed.

The Russian czar, bribed by some pieces of Polish Prussia, and by prospective acquisitions from Turkey and Sweden, became an ally of Napoleon and an accomplice in his plans. By the treaty of Tilsit, he enlisted his empire in the "continental system" against England, and agreed to the enforcement of a decree which Napoleon issued from Berlin, declaring the British islands in a state of blockade.

Great Britain and Ireland

The younger Pitt, who had been the master-spirit of the resistance to French aggressions and Napoleonic ambitions, was dead. Feeble in health and worn out with labors and cares, he had succumbed to the shock of the news of Austerlitz, which frustrated all his plans. Early in 1806 he died, and the direction of the government was undertaken by a ministry made up of brilliant men from differing parties, who could not act effectively together, nor with the king. Charles James Fox, the most distinguished member of this ministry, died within the year, but not till he had insured the passage of an act against the slave trade, which was the measure he had most at heart. The colleagues of Fox, in what came to be described as "the ministry of all the talents," were not long in office after his death. They resigned because the bigoted king would not listen to proposals for some relief to the Roman Catholics of the kingdom, who had writhed under shameful disabilities for more than two hundred years.

Death of
Pitt, Jan. 23,
1806

British
"ministry
of all the
talents,"
1806

In that period, and through all the prior centuries of their subjection, the treatment of the Irish people by the English was as cruel and as heedless of justice and right as the treatment of Poles by Russians or of Greeks by Turks. They were trebly oppressed: as conquered subjects of an alien race, as religious enemies, as possible rivals in production and trade. They were deprived of political and civil rights; they were denied the ministrations of their priests; the better employments and more honorable professions were closed to them; the industries which promised prosperity to their country were suppressed. A small minority of Protestant colonists became the recognized nation, so far as a nationality in Ireland was recognized at all. When Ireland was said to have a parliament, it was the parliament of the minority alone. No Catholic sat in it; no Catholic was represented in it. When Irishmen were permitted to bear arms, they were Protestant Irishmen only who formed the privileged militia. Seven tenths of the inhabitants of the island were politically as non-existent as actual serfdom could have made them. For the most part they were peasants and their state as such scarcely above the condition of

Past and
present Eng-
lish treat-
ment of
Ireland

Walpole,
*History of
England
from 1815,*
2: ch. viii

Oppression
of the Catho-
lic Irish

serfs. They owned no land; their leases were insecure; the laws protected them in the least possible degree; their landlords were mostly of the hostile creed and race. No country in Europe showed conditions better calculated to distress and degrade a people.

The Protestant Irish legislature

Lecky, *History of England in the 18th century*, 6 : ch. xxv

This was the state of things in Ireland until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. In 1782 legislative independence was conceded; but the independent legislature was still the parliament in which Protestants sat alone. In 1793 Catholics were admitted to the franchise; but seats in parliament were still denied to them and they must elect Protestants to represent them.

Union of Ireland with Great Britain, Jan. 1, 1801

Pitt's resignation and recall, March, 1801, May, 1804

Pitt had planned a great measure of statesmanship and justice, contemplating not only the union of Ireland with England and Scotland, under one parliament and one system of law, but, likewise, the admission of Catholics to that parliament, and their general liberation from the disabilities under which they were kept. One part of his measure was carried through; the other failed. By acts of the parliaments in both islands, "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" was created in the year 1800, and the British realm assumed that name on the 1st day of January, 1801. But when Pitt then attempted to give substance as well as form to the union of Ireland with Great Britain, by placing its Catholic citizens on a footing of political equality with their Protestant fellow citizens, he found his course blocked by the immovable bigotry of the king. Thereupon he resigned, and was out of office during the period of the Peace of Amiens; but when war broke out afresh, and Napoleon began formidable preparations to invade England, Pitt was recalled to the helm, and the new coalition against Napoleon was his final work. As said before, he died when it failed. Nelson, at Trafalgar, had foiled the project of invasion, by destroying the united fleets of France and Spain; but the coalition was broken at Austerlitz.

Warfare with bloodless weapons

For the time being that failure ended effort on the part of the British government to array continental armies against those of France. The deadly combat between

England and Napoleon took on a different form, was fought with other weapons than the musket and the cannon, and inflicted other wounds. As described by Captain Mahan: "England had no army wherewith to meet Napoleon; Napoleon had no navy to cope with that of his enemy. As in the case of an impregnable fortress, the only alternative for either of these contestants was to reduce the other by starvation. On the common frontier, the coast line, they met in a deadly strife in which no weapon was drawn. The imperial soldiers were turned into coast-guardsmen, to shut out Great Britain from her markets; the British ships became revenue cutters, to prohibit the trade of France." But this was a kind of warfare that wounded neutral nations as sorely as the combatants themselves, and many countries—the United States of America more, perhaps, than any other—suffered the consequences of hostilities in which they had no part.

Napoleon had been the first challenger to this reckless scheme of warfare; but the really desperate attempt of the two antagonists to destroy each other's traffic with the outer world was opened by the British government in May, 1806. This was done by an "order in council" which declared the whole western coast of Europe from the Elbe to Brest (all controlled by Napoleon) to be in a state of blockade, even where no British war vessels were present to maintain an actual blockade, and that neutral vessels bound to that coast or sailing from it would be prize of war, wherever caught. This declaration of what is described as a "paper blockade" was an arrogant assumption of the right to dictate rules of war. Napoleon, then lording it at Berlin, retorted in November by a decree which declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade; prohibited all commerce and correspondence with them; ordered all British merchandise and property found in any country occupied by the troops of France or her allies to be seized, and all British subjects within similar reach of his arm to be made prisoners of war.

The Berlin decree drew fresh orders in council from Great Britain, extending the earlier ones to every port from which British ships were shut out. Napoleon met

The combat
in a new form

Mahan, *In-
fluence of
Sea Power
upon the
French
Revolution
and Em-
pire*, 2 : ch. x

British
"order in
council,"
May, 1806

Napoleon's
Berlin de-
cree, Nov..
1806

British orders, Jan. and Nov., and Napoleon's Milan decree, Dec., 1807

Fontainebleau decree, Oct., 1810

The effects

these by a new decree, from Milan, declaring that every vessel, of any nation, that submitted to the British orders in council, should be deemed British property, subject to seizure and condemnation. And so the warfare of orders and decrees, contemptuous of all neutral rights of trade, went on for years, culminating in a mandate from Fontainebleau, that all British goods found in France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Spain, and other regions obedient to Napoleonic commands, should be burned.

Neither orders nor decrees wrought the ruin that their authors desired, since the power of Napoleon could not suppress an extensive smuggled commerce with Great Britain, nor could the fleets of England catch half of the neutral ships that became carriers for France; but the suffering produced on all sides was undoubtedly very great, and the insolence of the powerful belligerents toward neutral nations, especially toward the young republic of the United States, was hard to endure.

Second period of the Napoleonic wars

Landfrey, *History of Napoleon I.*, vol. 3, ch. ix-xv, and vol. 4

Napoleon's attack on Portugal

Oct. 27, 1807

Napoleon's crime against Spain

Seeley, *Short History of Napoleon I.*, ch. v

Having prostrated Germany, in 1807, and captivated the czar, Napoleon turned toward another field, which had scarcely felt, as yet, his intrusive hand. Spain had been in servile alliance with France for ten years, while Portugal adhered steadily to her friendship with Great Britain, and now refused to be obedient to the Berlin decree. Napoleon took prompt measures for the punishment of a defiance so bold. A delusive treaty with the Spanish court, for the partition of the small kingdom of the Braganzas, won permission for an army under Junot to enter Portugal, through Spain. No resistance to it was made. The royal family of Portugal quitted Lisbon, setting sail for Brazil, and Junot took possession of the kingdom.

This accomplished only half of Napoleon's design. He meant to have Spain, as well; and he found, in the miserable state of the country, his opportunity to work out an ingenious, unscrupulous scheme for its acquisition. His agents set on foot a revolutionary movement, in favor of the worthless crown prince, Ferdinand, against his equally worthless father, Charles IV., and pretexts were obtained

for an interference by French troops. Charles was coerced into an abdication; then Ferdinand was lured to an interview with Napoleon, at Bayonne, was made prisoner there, and compelled in his turn to relinquish the crown. A vacancy on the Spanish throne having been thus created, the emperor brought together at Bayonne a small assembly of Spanish notables, who offered the seat to Joseph Bonaparte, already king of Naples. Joseph, obedient to his imperial brother's wish, resigned the Neapolitan crown to Murat, his sister's husband, accepted the crown of Spain, and was established at Madrid with a French army at his back.

Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne, 1808

This was one of the two most ruinous of the political blunders of Napoleon's life. He had cheated and insulted the whole Spanish nation, in a way too contemptuous to be endured, even by a people long cast down. The consequence was a revolt which did not spring from any momentary passion, but which had an obstinacy of deep feeling behind. French armies could beat Spanish armies, and disperse them, but they could not keep them dispersed; and they could not break up the organization of a rebellion which organized itself in every province, and which went on, when necessary, without any organization at all. England sent forces to the peninsula, under Wellington, for the support of the insurgent Spaniards and Portuguese; and thenceforward, to the end of his career, the most inextricable difficulties of Napoleon were those in which he had entangled himself on the southern side of the Pyrenees.

The uprising of Spain

Wellington in the peninsula, 1808-1813

The other cardinal blunder in Napoleon's conduct, which proved more destructive to him than the crime in Spain, was his exasperating treatment of Germany. There was neither magnanimity on the moral side of him nor wisdom on the intellectual side, to restrain him from using his victory with immoderate insolence. He put as much shame as he could invent into the humiliations of the German people. He had Prussia under his heel, and he ground the heel upon her neck with the whole weight of his power. The consequence was a pain and a passion which wrought changes like a miracle in the temper and character of the abused nation. Springs of feeling were

The exasperating of Germany

Brutal insolence of the conqueror

opened and currents of national life set in motion that might never, otherwise, have been brought into play.

The makers
of a new
Prussia

Seeley, *Life
and Times
of Stein*

Enlightened men and strong men from all parts of Germany found themselves called to Prussia and to the front of its affairs, and their way made easy for them in labors of restoration and reform. Stein and Hardenberg remodeled the administration of the kingdom, uprooted the remains of serfdom in it, and gave new freedom to its energies. Scharnhorst organized the military system, on which arose in time the most formidable of military powers. Humboldt planned the school system which educated Prussia beyond all her neighbors, in the succeeding generations. Even the philosophers came out of their closets and took part, as Fichte did, in the stirring and uplifting of the spirit of their countrymen. So it was that the outrages of Napoleon in Germany revenged themselves, by summoning into existence an unsuspected energy that would turn against him to destroy him, in the end.

Wagram,
July 6, 1809

The Corsi-
can at the
summit of
his career,
1810-1811

But the time of destruction was not yet come. He had a few years of triumph still before him,—of triumph everywhere except in Portugal and Spain. Austria, resisting him once more, was crushed once more at Wagram, to such submissiveness that she gave a daughter of the imperial house in marriage to the parvenu sovereign of France, next year, when Josephine, his wife, was divorced. The Corsican was at the summit of his renown that year, but declining already from the greatest height of his power.

The War of
Liberation,
1813-1814

The fatal expedition of Napoleon to Russia, in 1812, was the beginning of the end of his career. In the next year Prussia, half regenerated within the brief time since Jena and Tilsit, went into alliance with Russia, and the War of Liberation was begun. Austria joined the alliance; and at Leipsic the three nations shattered at last the yoke of oppression that had bound Europe so long. At the same time, the French armies in Spain were expelled, and Wellington entered France through the Pyrenees, to meet the allies, who pursued Napoleon across the Rhine. Forced to abdicate and retire to the little island of Elba



SUMMONS TO WATERLOO

(the sovereignty of which was ceded to him), he remained there in quiet from May, 1814, until March, 1815, when he escaped and reappeared in France. Army and people welcomed him. The Bourbon monarchy, which had been restored by the allies, fell at his approach. The king, Louis XVIII., fled. Napoleon recovered his throne and occupied it for a few weeks; but the allies who had expelled him from it refused to permit his recovery of power. The question was settled finally at Waterloo, on the 18th of June, when a British army under Wellington and a Prussian army under Blücher won a victory which left the beaten emperor without hope. He surrendered himself to the commander of a British vessel of war, and was sent to confinement for the remainder of his life on the remote island of St. Helena.

Napoleon in
Elba, 1814-
1815

His return to
France

Waterloo,
June, 18, 1815

Napoleon at
St. Helena,
1815-1821

The United States of America during the Napoleonic wars

The fifteen years of the Napoleonic wars were a troubled period for the American people,—a time of many excitements, of many humiliations, of sore trial to their undeveloped national spirit, and of grave harm. So prolonged a state of widespread war, involving half of Europe and every European colony, opened extraordinary opportunities for neutral trade, which the Americans were well prepared to improve. They entered the field with eager enterprise and made it almost their own. Their ships swarmed in every sea and their flag became familiar in every port. England saw reason to fear that the carrying trade of the ocean would pass into their hands, and began a sharp narrowing of neutral rights, by dictatorial rulings which her naval supremacy gave her power to enforce. Then came Napoleon's attempt to exclude British products from European marts, and the finally frantic endeavor of both belligerents, abusing land-power on one side and sea-power on the other, to destroy all neutral trade. Struck unsparingly by both, the Americans suffered heavy losses; and yet large profits remained to them in the commerce which neither cruisers nor coast guards could stop. Their more serious suffering came from the humiliations which their national weakness and their governmental policy required them to endure.

A troubled
period

American
activity in
neutral trade

The attack
on neutral
rights

Views of
President
Jefferson

Mr. Jefferson, who became president in 1801, held views of the federal constitution and general theories of government which differed extremely from those of his two predecessors. In his opinion, and that of his party, the functions of the federal government should be restricted as nearly as possible to foreign affairs, and should touch nothing beyond a strict necessity in even those. His declared aim was a "frugal government," "which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits." He believed the commerce of America to be so necessary to European countries that merely withholding it would compel them to redress any wrong they might do to the United States, without need of war.

Jefferson,
Writings
(Ford's ed.)
7: 451-2; 8: 4

Adverse
circum-
stances

Unfortunately the circumstances of the time were singularly adverse to the working in practice of this noble philosophy of government. At the outset of his term the president was forced to chastise the pirates of the Barbary states of north Africa, opening a war with the insolent pasha of Tripoli which lasted for four years. A little later he was confronted by a question which went to the core of his doctrines concerning the constitution of the American Union and the powers of its general government. Napoleon, then first consul of France, was found to have extorted from Spain a secret cession of that great territory, called Louisiana, which France made over to Spain in 1763, including New Orleans, on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, as well as the whole western watershed of the river. To have such complete control of the mouth of the Mississippi pass from the weak kingdom of Spain to a power so aggressive as Napoleonic France was profoundly alarming to every western interest of the United States. In the face of this danger the scruples of President Jefferson as to functions and powers in the federal government, and even as to war, gave way. He opened negotiations with Napoleon for the purchase of New Orleans and the Floridas (supposing the latter to have been embraced in the transfer from Spain to France), and pressed his proposals with a plain intimation that the United States would go into alliance with Great Britain "on the day that France takes possession of New Orleans."

(See page
266)

Negotiations
for New
Orleans and
Florida

Jefferson,
Writings,
8: 145

Fortunately, Napoleon became embarrassed in his colonial schemes, by the failure of an attempt to re-enslave the revolted negroes of Santo Domingo, or Hayti, and by the re-opening of war with England, after the brief peace of Amiens. He abandoned those projects, accordingly, and offered, not New Orleans alone, but Louisiana as a whole, to the United States. The welcome proposal was accepted promptly, and, at a price equivalent to about \$15,000,000, the magnificent territory in question, extending from the Mississippi, throughout its length, to the Rocky Mountains, was conveyed to the American government by a treaty signed in May, 1803.

The Louisiana purchase, 1803

No reasoning could reconcile this momentous transaction with the constitutional theories of President Jefferson and the party which he led. It implied attributes of nationality in the federal union and attributes of sovereignty in the federal government which they had refused to concede. Mr. Jefferson made frank acknowledgment of the fact, and desired a constitutional amendment to sanction what had been done; but he yielded to the judgment of political friends, who believed the purchase to be justified and authorized sufficiently by the practical exigencies of the case.

The constitutional question

If the Republicans, in this matter, did violence in practice to their political theories, so, too, and even more, did their opponents of the Federalist party. On every principle for which the Federalists had contended, they might have been expected to approve and welcome the Louisiana purchase. Hamilton, the great statesman of the party, did so, without reserve; but most of the New England Federalists allowed sectional jealousies and party animosities to pervert their minds. They denied the existence of any power, anywhere, even by constitutional amendment, to incorporate new territory in the Union against the will of a single State. On this ground they opposed the treaty and resisted, even with threats of secession, the legislation that gave it effect.

Party inconsistencies

Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of U. S.*, 1: 183-185

Federalist opposition to the purchase

This evil temper in the opposition had deplorable results. It led to a disunion conspiracy between certain New England Federalists and Vice-President Aaron Burr. Burr's trickeries and treacheries in politics had turned the leaders

A disunion
conspiracy,
1803-1804

The Burr-
Hamilton
duel, July
11, 1804

Burr's plot-
ting in the
south-west,
1805-1806

Prosperity
of the United
States, 1805-
1806

Modified
views of Mr.
Jefferson

of his party against him, and provoked slights which he sought to avenge. In prosecuting the scheme of secession he became a candidate for governor of New York, and was opposed by Hamilton, whose plain speaking in the canvass furnished Burr with a pretext for demanding the barbarous satisfaction of the duel. Hamilton felt constrained by the false notions of the time to accept his challenge, and received a mortal wound.

Burr was abhorred and shunned as a murderer, and became, apparently, a desperate man. At the close of his vice-presidential term he went into the southwest and was busy for months in a mysterious undertaking, the full objects of which have never, with certainty, been ascertained. A filibustering conquest of Mexico and other Spanish provinces was in his plan, without doubt; but, beyond that, he is supposed to have been working for a separation of western States and Territories from the Union, to form an independent power in the Mississippi Valley and on the Gulf. Discontent among the French of New Orleans, and a restless spirit in the American population of the western border, seem to have given some encouragement to his schemes. At length, in November, 1806, his preparations went so far, mustering men, boats, and munitions, on the Ohio and its tributaries, that the president issued a proclamation, commanding the arrest of all concerned. Burr was taken and brought to trial at Richmond, but escaped conviction on technical grounds.

During the first years of the second term of President Jefferson the country was in a highly prosperous state. Though Great Britain had narrowed her own former rules for determining what merchandise should be treated as neutral, and had increased her captures and confiscations to an enormous extent, the ocean trade yielded great gains. The revenue of the federal government rose far above its frugal expenditures, promising an early extinction of the public debt. Anticipating a surplus in the treasury, the president recommended an amendment of the constitution, to authorize its use for "great purposes of the public education, roads, rivers, canals, and . . . other objects of public improvement." This indicated a very notable

modification of Mr. Jefferson's political views, and one creditable to the statesmanlike openness of his mind.

Unfortunately, the expected surplus was not acquired. The prosperous trade of a few years was checked by the British orders in council and the French decrees. To those high-handed measures the British government added one still more offensive, by asserting a right on the part of its cruisers to search the ships of other nations for deserters from its own, and for British subjects whose services it claimed and impressed. That assumed "right of search" was exercised upon American ships, especially, with increasing insolence on the part of British naval officers, until the climax of insult was reached in June, 1807. The *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, sailing then out of Norfolk navy yard, wholly unready for battle, was attacked by a waiting English frigate, disabled by three broadsides, which she could not return, and compelled, on a false claim, to give up three of her crew.

The cry for war which this crowning outrage provoked was resisted calmly by President Jefferson, who acted upon his belief in the practicability of extorting justice from other nations without resorting to arms. His extraordinary influence caused a singular experiment in the policy of "peaceable coercion" to be tried. It took the form of an "embargo act" of congress, forbidding the exportation of any merchandise from the United States to any foreign port, holding every American ship tied fast to her wharf, and commanding all foreign ships to depart. This made a strange demand on the American people, for an heroic endurance of great loss and suffering, as a means of inflicting some lighter suffering on other peoples. It ruined the shipping interests of New England, stopped the marketing of southern cotton and tobacco, and paralyzed many industries in every part of the country, without a sign of effect on the conduct of Great Britain or France. The former was pinched in her supplies of cotton and breadstuffs, and her West India colonies were half starved; but there was nothing in those results that moved her government to rectify the abuse of her naval power. As for Napoleon, the embargo touched his own empire so lightly and hurt England so much more, that he used influ-

Prosperity
checked,
1807-1808

(See pages
355-6)

Assumed
British right
of search

McMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U.S.*,
3: 240-246,
253-270

An experi-
ment in
"peaceable
coercion,"
1807

Adams, *His-
tory of the
U.S. dur-
ing the Ad-
ministration
of Jefferson*,
4: ch. vii-xii,
xiv, xv, xx

Effects of
the embargo
act

Failure of
the experi-
ment

ence at Washington to have it prolonged. The experiment, though a failure, was persisted in till the end of President Jefferson's term. Then the embargo was withdrawn, but a conditional measure of non-intercourse was adopted instead. This forbade importations from England and France so long as they, severally, persisted in their violation of neutral rights.

Presidency
of James
Madison,
1809-1817

Mr. Erskine's mis-
take, 1809

Had the opponents of the embargo policy been able to act together, it is not at all probable that the Republicans could have carried the ensuing presidential election; but they could not unite, and President Jefferson was succeeded, consequently, by his disciple and intimate friend, Mr. Madison, in the spring of 1809. In the first month of the new administration an unfortunate blunder, committed by the British minister at Washington, Mr. Erskine, gave rise to a new disturbance in the relations of the United States with both England and France. Mr. Erskine entered into an agreement with President Madison, that the British orders in council, on one side, and the American non-intercourse act, on the other (so far as concerned Great Britain), should be annulled. Thereupon the president proclaimed a suspension of the non-intercourse act, and there was great joy and busy trade in the country for about three months,—until news came from England that Mr. Erskine had misunderstood his instructions, and that his government refused to be bound by the agreement he had made. Feeling was then embittered on all sides and the situation made worse. Congress repealed the non-intercourse act, but authorized the president to prohibit intercourse with either one of the belligerent powers, if the other should withdraw its offending decrees.

The situa-
tion made
worse

Napoleon's
knavish
trick, Aug.,
1810

Adams, *His-
tory of the
U. S., dur-
ing the Ad-
ministra-
tions of
Jefferson
and Mad-
ison*, 5: ch.
vii-xiv, xvi,
xviii

This suggested to Napoleon a characteristic fraud. He gave notice to the American minister at Paris that "the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked," and called upon the United States to enforce the act (as above described) against England if her orders in council were not withdrawn. Trusting the notice so given, President Madison proclaimed it, and interdicted commerce with Great Britain; but only to learn, after months of questioning and expostulation, that he had been duped by a shameless knave. The seizure of American vessels and cargoes,

wherever they came within the clutch of the great Corsican brigand, went on without check, and there was never a sign that his decrees had been revoked.

The conduct of the French government toward the United States at this time was more insulting, if possible, and more injurious, than that of Great Britain; but the feeling of the party in power leaned strongly against the latter, and made the most of offenses which came from that side. Of such offenses a new one was supposed to be added in 1811 by an Indian rising in the west, under Tecumseh or Tecumthe, a Shawnee chief. The hostile tribes were defeated by General William Henry Harrison, the territorial governor of Indiana, in a battle fought on the Tippecanoe, and Tecumseh took refuge in Canada, which strengthened a belief that he had acted under instigations from the authorities there.

Anti-Eng-
lish feeling

Tecumseh

Tippecanoe,
Nov. 7, 1811

Despite these irritations, the opposition to war was very strong in New England and in parts of the middle States; but the old anger against England burned yet in the south and in the new western States, and the impetuous spirit of a few young men in Congress from those sections—Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun conspicuously in the lead—was able to fan it into a flame. With much reluctance President Madison yielded to pressure from his party, and recommended a declaration of war with Great Britain, which Congress adopted and which he signed on the 18th of June, 1812. A month later news came that the British government had actually revoked its offensive orders in council and had announced the fact in parliament one day before the American declaration of war. It offered no concession, however, in the matter of impressments from American ships, and its proposal of a truce, to reopen negotiations, was declined. To vindicate "sailors' rights" remained, therefore, the sole purpose of the war. That it failed to accomplish that purpose, and that every plan and expectation of those who undertook it was disappointed, has never surprised any student of the period who learned how entirely the country was unprepared for war. It had neither trained soldiers, nor officers of experience (excepting aged veterans of the Revolution), nor any real military organization, nor any system of administration that would

Declaration
of war, June
18, 1812

British
orders re-
voked too
late

A war for
"sailors'
rights"

The country
unprepared

Soley, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
Am.*, 7: ch. vi

allow such an organization to be evolved. The results that followed were inevitable.

Hull's sur-
render, Aug.
16, 1812

Queenston,
Oct. 13, 1812

Jan. 22, 1813

The war party had counted on a speedy conquest of Canada; but every attempt on the Canadian frontier found the British forces better prepared than their assailants and more alert. General Hull, who led the first movement of invasion, from Detroit, was not only driven back, but followed, and forced to surrender after a short siege. The next attempt to enter Canada, made on the Niagara frontier, was repulsed at Queenston, in October, with heavy loss. An undertaking to recover Detroit, by General Harrison, with forces assembled in Indiana, had no better success. General Winchester, who led Harrison's advance, allowed his column to be surprised at Frenchtown, on the Raisin River, and the whole body, nine hundred in number, was captured or slain.

American
naval vic-
tories, 1812

Roosevelt,
*The Naval
War of 1812*

Reflection
of President
Madison,
1812

Duel of the
"Chesa-
peake" and
"Shannon,"
June 1, 1813

Naval battle
of Lake
Erie, Sept.
10, 1813

Meantime the small American navy was having triumphs which went far toward redeeming the military disasters of the year. The famous frigate *Constitution* (known familiarly as *Old Ironsides*), commanded in the first instance by Captain Isaac Hull and by Captain Bainbridge in the second, won two signal victories, capturing the frigate *Guerriere*, in August, and destroying the frigate *Java*, four months later, after a fierce fight off the coast of Brazil. A third British frigate, the *Macedonian*, surrendered to Captain Decatur, commanding the American frigate *United States*. Probably it was the satisfaction produced by these naval achievements that enabled the war party to reflect President Madison in November, notwithstanding the military disappointments of the war. But the triumphs at sea were soon ended. The next season brought a grievous downcasting of the pride of the Americans in their ships. Captain James Lawrence, commanding the unfortunate frigate *Chesapeake*, sailed out of Boston Bay to accept a challenge from Captain Broke, of the British frigate *Shannon*, and fought a naval duel in which he fell mortally wounded and his ship was overcome.

On the fresh water of the Great Lakes, however, the navy still gathered most of the few laurels of the war. By a hard won victory on Lake Erie, near the mouth of the

Sandusky River, Captain Oliver H. Perry made the position of the British and Indian forces at Detroit untenable and compelled them to retreat. They were followed into Canada by General Harrison, defeated in a battle fought on the river Thames, and Tecumseh, the Indian leader, was slain.

Battle of the
Thames,
Oct. 5, 1813

Practically these successes had no important effect, and a fresh failure was experienced soon afterward, in an expedition undertaken against Montreal. The last attempt of the Americans to carry the war into Canada was made in the summer of 1814, by General Jacob Brown, who crossed from Buffalo and had two engagements with the enemy near Niagara Falls, the first at Chippewa, the second at Lundy's Lane. Both armies claimed a victory in the latter engagement; but the Americans fell back to Fort Erie, opposite Buffalo, where they withstood a determined siege for two months, and then withdrew to their own side of the river, destroying the fort.

Chippewa
and Lundy's
Lane, July 5
and 25, 1814

Siege of Fort
Erie, 1814

The circumstances of the war had been changed immensely at this time by the fall of Napoleon, which liberated British forces from service in Europe and allowed them to be brought to the American field. The military authorities in Canada were then prepared for an aggressive movement toward the Hudson, on the old route of Burgoyne. At the head of Lake Champlain they fitted out a squadron of small vessels and gunboats, to attack a similar small fleet which the American commodore, Macdonough, had put afloat on the lake. The decisive battle—in some views the most important of the war—was fought at Plattsburg, on the 11th of September, and won by Macdonough, stopping the British advance.

Naval battle
of Lake
Champlain,
Sept. 11, 1814

With more success the British were opening attacks upon the coast. Their blockade of American ports had been nearly complete for a year, and most of the few vessels of the regular navy of the United States were shut in; but swift privateers were active, as they had been from the beginning of the war, and English commerce suffered severely from their attacks. In August a considerable British force was landed in Patuxent River, Maryland, and marched, with slight resistance at Bladensburg, to Washington, where, under barbarous orders from its com-

Privateering

Capture and
destruction
of Washing-
ton, Aug. 24,
1814

mander, most of the government buildings were destroyed. A little later Baltimore was assailed, but saved by the defense of Fort McHenry, which the enemy's fleet could not pass. It was the bombardment of Fort McHenry that inspired the composition of the song of "The Star Spangled Banner," by Francis Scott Key.

"The Star
Spangled
Banner"

Everywhere, all heartiness in the war had disappeared; the feeling against it, especially in New England, had become intense. In December, on the invitation of Massachusetts, a convention representing the New England opposition was assembled at Hartford and remained in secret session for three weeks. On adjourning it published a report, demanding certain amendments to the federal constitution and recommending another convention, "to decide on the course which a crisis so momentous might seem to demand." What ultimate action was contemplated is a question that has been always in dispute; but the men of the Hartford convention were stigmatized as disunionists to the end of their lives. So far as disloyalty to the Union had arisen in New England it expired then. Peace came unexpectedly, so soon after the Hartford convention adjourned that all the feelings represented in it were swept away.

The Hart-
ford Con-
vention,
Dec., 1814

Negotia-
tions for
peace, Aug.-
Dec., 1814

Negotiations for peace had been in progress at Ghent since August, 1814. "With all her advantages in the war, England was most anxious for peace. She was weary of war; the situation in Europe was still precarious, and her commerce was badly broken by American privateers. Hence the American commissioners, by stout insistence, secured better terms in the end than the condition of their country gave them reason to expect. But the treaty signed on the 24th of December, 1814, contained no mention of the naval searches and impressments that had been the chief provocation to war. The question about them was settled by being dropped; for the English stopped practicing what they still held to be their right. Other important questions, relating to the Newfoundland fisheries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were postponed for future settlement; and so the treaty was scarcely more than an agreement that matters between the two nations should be as they were before the war. There was little

The treaty
of Ghent,
Dec. 24, 1814

Schurz, *Life
of Henry
Clay*, 1: 99-
125

Larned, *His-
tory of the
U. S.*, 352

to show for the 30,000 lives it was estimated to have cost the country, and the hundred millions, or nearly, that it had added to the national debt."

Fifteen days after the signing of the treaty of peace, but before news of it could reach America, the bloodiest battle of the war was fought at New Orleans. Defending that city against an expedition from Jamaica, General Jackson intrenched his riflemen so well that 2,000 British veterans fell in a rash attempt to carry his works by assault, while the loss of the Americans was but seventy-one. The British commander, General Pakenham, was among the killed. Naturally General Jackson became the hero of the war.

Battle of
New Or-
leans, Jan.
8, 1815

The ending of the War of 1812-15 with Great Britain was the ending of a period of great harassment and trial to the young American republic, and brought it, we may say, to the real beginning of its conscious national life. Thus far in its corporate existence it had been struggling with circumstances which made a common consciousness and general spirit of nationality among its people impossible. Its peculiar relations to the warring powers in Europe, with its youthfulness, its weakness, its insignificance as a nation in their eyes, exposed it to an exasperating ill treatment, which angered half of its people against one offender and half against the other. For this reason the roused temper that ought to have flamed patriotically, and welded them to unity, was burned out in their party politics and went to worse than waste. In reality there had been next to nothing in their politics,—next to nothing in their conflicts of party,—but heats of feeling against England in one faction and against France in the other. Now the situation was cleared for a different working of the American public mind. For the first time since the early years of Washington's administration, it was free from foreign distractions, and could give an undivided attention to its own domestic concerns. In these circumstances a more common national spirit could not fail to arise.

Beginning of
a conscious
national life

Ending of
foreign dis-
tractions

This was stimulated, too, by the rapid spread of population westward and the creation of new States. Before the opening of the war, four States (Kentucky, Tennessee,

The west
and its
democracy

Roosevelt,
*The Win-
ning of the
West*, 4: 223-
257

Decay of the
Federalist
party

Little doc-
trinal differ-
ences be-
tween the
parties

Election of
President
Monroe,
1816

Ohio and Louisiana) had been formed in the Mississippi Valley, and four more (Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama) were added to the Union within four years after it closed. The conditions of the pioneer life in these newer communities moulded society in them more democratically than in the older States of the east, and gave it a more distinctly American character and tone.

A natural consequence of all that had taken place was the quick final decay of the Federalist party. It represented the old Federalism of Hamilton and his day no longer. It had permitted the opposing party of the Democratic Republicans to appropriate the better part of its original principles; for both parties had been faithless alike to the doctrines of government on which they divided at the beginning. Each, when controlling the federal government, had been eager to magnify its powers by broad constructions of the constitution, and each, when in opposition, had shown equal eagerness to minimize those powers. As exemplified practically in legislation and administration, there was little of doctrinal difference to distinguish the one party from the other in 1815. At the same time, the Republican party was recommended to popular favor by the democratic spirit which it drew from its founders and which never was lost. So it became for a time the sole occupant of the field in American politics, and the Federalist party was left with no substantial ground on which to stand. Discredited by its opposition to the late war, it was hardly able to contest the presidential election of 1816. James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected by a large majority of electoral votes. Before the next election the Federalist party, as a national organization, had disappeared.

Great Britain after the fall of Napoleon

Distress of
the working
people

To large classes of the working people of Great Britain, the interruption of trade in the long conflict with revolutionary France and with Napoleon had been a cause of heavy distress. Industries had been checked and wages lessened, while the prices of food were raised. Suffering from these causes was deepened by temporary disturbances, resulting from the great industrial revolution

through which the country was passing at the time. At every stage of the transition from hand work to machine work, and from home spinning and home weaving to the factory system, the nation as a whole was made richer, by economy and increase of production, but multitudes of individuals lost employment, or were starved in a hopeless endeavor to labor and live in the old ways. The period of adjustment to the new industrial conditions of the age of machinery and steam was a sad one, on the whole, in the wage-working world.

(See pages 294-5)

Period of adjustment to new conditions

Two classes in England—the landlords and the farmers—were enriched by the high prices to which breadstuffs were raised by the long wars. Peace should have lowered those prices; but, unfortunately, the landlord class, controlling parliament, had power to prevent that result. For some time past they had upheld prices for the farm produce on which their high rents depended, by what were known as “corn laws” (all cereals being called “corn”), imposing protective duties on imported grain. Now they passed a corn law which practically prohibited the importation of wheat whenever its price fell below eighty shillings (about \$20) a quarter (eight bushels); and that atrocious law, which starved many for the enrichment of a few, was enforced for thirteen years. In the light of this glaring exhibit of the class-government then maintained in Great Britain, the common people were wakened fast to a sense of the political rights which they ought to claim and which they had power to take. The demand for a better representation in parliament began to be peremptory in tone, and a period of agitation and disorder, both political and industrial, ensued. In the midst of these conditions George III., who had been hopelessly insane for ten years, died, and his son, the fourth George, acting regent since 1810, became king.

Enrichment of landlords and farmers

The “corn law” of 1815

Ashworth, *Recollections of Cobden*, ch. i.

Agitation and disorder

Death of George III., Jan. 29, 1820

Europe at large after the fall of Napoleon

Delivered from one tyrannical master by the overthrow of Napoleon, Europe, thereupon, was given over to a combination of despots who oppressed it for another generation. The sovereigns who had united to dethrone Napoleon, with the two emperors, of Austria and Russia,

The con-
gress of
Vienna

Fyffe, *His-
tory of
Modern
Europe*, 2:
ch. i.

Recon-
structed
Europe

at their head, and with the Austrian minister, Metternich, for their most trusted counselor, assumed first, in the congress of Vienna, a general work of political rearrangement, to repair the revolutionary and Napoleonic disturbances, and then to assume an authoritative supervision of European politics which proved as meddlesome as Napoleon's had been.

Their first act was to restore the Bourbon monarchy in France, indifferent to the wishes of the people. In Spain, Ferdinand had taken the throne, when Joseph fled. In Italy, the king of Sardinia was restored and Genoa transferred to him; Lombardy and Venetia were given back to Austria; Tuscany, Modena and some minor duchies received Hapsburg princes; the pope recovered his States, and the Bourbons returned from Sicily to Naples. In Germany, the Prussian kingdom was enlarged again by several absorptions, including part of Saxony, but some of its Polish territory was given to the czar; Hanover became a kingdom; Austria resumed the provinces which Napoleon had conveyed to his Rhenish protégés; and, finally, a Germanic confederation was formed, to take the place of the extinct empire, and with no more efficiency in its constitution. In the Netherlands, a new kingdom was made up, to bear the Netherland name, and to embrace Holland and Belgium in union, with the house of Orange on the throne.

The "holy
alliance"

Between the czar, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia, there was a personal agreement that went with these arrangements of the congress of Vienna, and which was prolonged for a number of years. In the public understanding, this was associated, perhaps wrongly, with a written declaration, known as "the holy alliance," in which the three sovereigns set forth their intention to regulate their foreign and domestic policy by the precepts of Christianity, and invited all princes to join their alliance for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of brotherly love. Whether identical as a fact with this "holy alliance" or secreted behind it, there was, and long continued to be, an undoubted league between these sovereigns and others, which had aims very different from the promotion of brotherly love. It was wholly reactionary,

hostile to all political liberalism, and repressive of all movements in the interest of the people. Metternich was its skillful minister, and the deadly, soulless system of bureaucratic absolutism which he organized in Austria was the model of government that it strove to introduce.

Hostility
to all liberal-
ism

In Italy, the governments generally were reduced to the Austrian model, and the political state of the peninsula, for forty years, was scarcely better, if at all, than it had been under the Spanish rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Italy

Germany, as divided as ever, under a federal constitution which federated nothing else so much as the big and little courts and their reactionary ideas, was profoundly depressed in political spirit, while prospering materially and showing notable signs of intellectual life.

Germany

France was not slow in finding that the restored Bourbons and the restored émigrés had forgotten nothing and learned nothing, in the twenty-five years of their exile. They put all their strength into the turning back of the clock, trying to make it strike again the hours in which the revolution and Napoleon had been so busy. It was futile work; but it sickened and angered the nation none the less. After all the stress and struggle it had gone through, there was a strong nation yet to resist the Bourbonism brought back to power. It recovered from the exhaustion of its wars with a marvelous quickness. The millions of peasant landowners, who were the greatest creation of the revolution, dug wealth from its soil with untiring free arms, and soon made it the most prosperous land in Europe. Through country and city, the ideas of the revolution were in the brains of the common people, while its energies were in their brawn, and Bourbonism needed more wisdom than it ever possessed to reconcile them to its restoration.

France under the re-
stored
Bourbons

Peasant
landowners

It was not in France, however, but in Spain, that the first rising against the restored order of things occurred. Ferdinand VII., when released from his French imprisonment in 1814, was received warmly in Spain, and took the crown with quite general consent. He accepted the constitution under which the country had been governed since 1812, and made large lying promises of a liberal rule.

Spain

Spanish and
Portuguese
revolutions,
1820

But, when seated on the throne, he suppressed the constitution, restored the Inquisition, revived the monasteries, called back the expelled Jesuits, and opened a deadly persecution of the liberals in Spanish politics. In 1820 a revolutionary movement took form, which forced the king to reestablish the constitution and call different men to his council. Portugal, at the same time, adopted a similar constitution, and it was accepted by the exiled king, John VI., who returned from Brazil.

Revolts in
Italy, 1820-
1821

The revolution in Spain set fire to the discontent that had smouldered in Italy. The latter broke forth, in the summer of 1820, at Naples, where the Bourbon king made no resistance to a sudden revolt of soldiers and citizens, but yielded the constitution they demanded at once. Sardinia followed, in the next spring, with a rising of the Piedmontese, requiring constitutional government. The king, Victor Emmanuel I., who was very old, resigned the crown to his brother, Charles Felix. The latter refused the demands of the constitutionalists and called upon Austria for help.

Action of the
"holy alli-
ance"

England's
protest

Canning's
policy

These outbreaks of the revolutionary spirit were alarming to the sovereigns of the "holy alliance" and excited them to a vigorous activity. The congenial duty of restoring absolutism in the Two Sicilies, and of helping the king of Sardinia against his subjects, was imposed upon Austria, and willingly performed; while the Bourbon court of France was solicited to put an end to the bad example of constitutional government in Spain. Both commissions were executed with fidelity and zeal. Italy was flung down and fettered again; French troops occupied Spain. England, alone, protested against this flagrant policing of Europe by the "holy alliance." Canning, its spirited minister, "called in the New World," as he described his policy, "to redress the balance of the old," by recognizing the independence of the Spanish colonies in America, which, Cuba and Porto Rico excepted, were now separated forever from the crown of Spain. Brazil in like manner was cut loose from the Portuguese crown, and assumed the constitution of an empire, under Dom Pedro, the eldest son of John VI.

These stifled revolutions in western Europe failed to

discourage a more obstinate insurrection which began in the east, among the Christian subjects of the Turks. The Ottoman government had been growing weaker and more vicious for many years. The corrupted and turbulent janissaries were the masters of the empire, and a sultan who attempted, as Selim III. had done, to introduce reforms, was put to death. Russia, under Alexander I., had been continuing to gain ground at the expense of the Turks, and assuming more and more of a patronage of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Rising of
the Christian
subjects of
the Turks,
1821

There seems to be little doubt that the rising begun in 1821, which had its start in Moldavia, and its first leader in a Greek, Ypsilanti, who had been an officer in the Russian service, received encouragement from the czar. But Alexander turned his back on it when the Greeks sprang to arms and appealed to Europe for help. England alone showed sympathy, but did nothing as a government, and left the struggling Greeks to such help as they might win from individual friends. Lord Byron, with others, went to Greece, carrying money and arms. Generally, however, these volunteers lost much of their ardor in the Greek cause when they came into close contact with its native supporters. But, if the Greeks lacked high qualities, they made an obstinate fight, and held their ground against the Turks, until the feeling of sympathy with them had grown strong in England and in France. In Russia, Alexander I. had been succeeded by the aggressive czar Nicholas, who had not patience to wait for the slow crumbling of the Ottoman power, but was determined to break it as summarily as he could. To that end he joined France and England in a naval demonstration against the Turks, which had its result in the battle of Navarino, and the destruction of the combined Turkish and Egyptian fleets.

Greek war of
independ-
ence, 1821-
1829

1825

Battle of
Navarino,
Oct. 20, 1827

Egypt, at this time, was under the practically independent rule of an adventurer, Mehemet Ali, who went to it in 1801 as one of the officers of the Turkish force sent to act with the English in expelling the French. In the confusions that followed he succeeded in rising to a position which forced the sultan to make him governor. His authority was disputed by the Mameluke beys,—chiefs of the old military organization that had held and ruled

Egypt under
Mehemet
Ali

Egypt for a long period before they yielded, in the sixteenth century, to the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan. By a general massacre, accomplished through treachery, he swept them from his path, and went steadily forward in the pursuit of plans which aimed at the establishment of an independent state. His project was promoted by the troubles in which Turkey was now involved.

After the battle of Navarino, the French and English went no farther in hostilities; but Tzar Nicholas pursued the undertaking, in a war which lasted till the autumn of 1829. Turkey at the end of it conceded the independence of Greece, and practically that of Wallachia and Moldavia. In 1830, a conference at London established the Greek kingdom, and in 1833 a Bavarian prince, Otho I., was settled on the throne.

The king-
dom of
Greece
established,
1830-1833

European
revolutions
of 1830

In France

Exile of
Charles X.

Crowning of
Louis
Philippe

Before this result was reached, revolution in western Europe, arrested in 1821-23, had broken out afresh. Bourbonism had become unendurable to France. Charles X., who succeeded his brother, Louis XVIII., in 1824, showed not only a more arbitrary temper, but a disposition more deferential to the church. He was fond of the Jesuits, whom his subjects very commonly distrusted and disliked. He attempted to put shackles on the press, and, when elections to the chamber of deputies went repeatedly against the government, he undertook practically to alter the suffrage by ordinances of his own. A revolution seemed then to be the only remedy that was open to the nation, and it was adopted in July, 1830, the veteran Lafayette taking the lead. Charles X. was driven to abdication, and left France for England. The crown was transferred to Louis Philippe, of the Orleans branch of the Bourbon family,—son of the Philip Egalité who joined the Jacobins in the revolution.

The July Revolution in France proved a signal for more outbreaks in other parts of Europe than had followed the Spanish rising of ten years before.

Belgium

Belgium broke away from the union with Holland, which had never satisfied its people, and, after some struggle, won recognized independence, as a new kingdom, with Leopold of Saxe Coburg raised to the throne.

Russian Poland, bearing the name of a constitutional

kingdom since 1815, but having the czar for its king and the czar's brother for viceroy, found no lighter oppression than before, and made a hopeless, brave attempt to escape from its bonds. The revolt was put down with unmerciful severity, and thousands of the hapless patriots went to exile in Siberia.

Poland

In Germany, there were numerous demonstrations in the smaller states, which succeeded more or less in extorting constitutional concessions; but there was no revolutionary movement on a larger scale.

Germany

Italy remained quiet in both the north and the south, where disturbances had arisen before; but commotions occurred in the papal states, and in Modena and Parma, which required the arms of Austria to suppress.

Italy

Ireland had been at the point of rebellion in 1829, but was pacified by a tardy yielding to the demand of the Catholics for representation in parliament by members of their own faith. The agitation which extorted this concession had been led with extraordinary eloquence and resolution by Daniel O'Connell, who became then a great power in the realm. The Tory ministry of the day, headed by the duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, had given signs already of a relaxing conservatism, by moderating the iniquitous corn laws, and by opening the doors of public office to Protestant dissenters from the established church, who could enter no such office hitherto without an infringement of law. Now the same ministry abrogated the test oath which barred Catholics from parliament and from all public life.

Ireland

Daniel
O'Connell

1828

Catholic
emancipation,
1829

The movements of feeling and opinion which accomplished these results were hurrying the British people toward a greater reform; toward one that would surpass all other revolutions of the time in the lasting importance of its effects, and exhibit in their grandest early triumph the peaceful forces of the platform and the press. The account of this belongs to our next chapter.

Great
Britain

By several tokens it can be seen that a fresh point of departure in the social progress of the world had been reached at this time. For more than half a century past, scientific discovery and mechanical invention had been marking such points, by setting new agencies in action,

New depart-
ure in social
progress

The railway
and Stephen-
son's steam
locomotive,
1825-1830

Smiles, *Life
of George
Stephenson*

with wonder-working effects on the relations between men and communities of men. The early applications of the steam engine, to mining and manufacturing industries and to the propulsion of boats, had produced influences that are traceable in all the lines of the stretch of history just surveyed. And now the mounting of the steam engine upon wheels and the wheels upon a railway was the beginning of another revolution, in travel and transportation, which transformed the world in every circumstance of civilized life. George Stephenson, the Englishman who proved the practicability of the railway and the steam locomotive, did so first, on a small scale, in 1825, when he ran his "traveling engine" from Stockton to Darlington, and more effectively in 1830, when a railway from Liverpool to Manchester was opened with triumphant success. A new chapter in human history was opened by that event.

The United States of America

Steam Navi-
gation, 1807-
1830

Thurston,
*History of
the Growth
of the Steam
Engine*,
ch. v.

The Erie
Canal, 1817-
1825

At this time no other country was gaining so much as the United States from the service of that floated locomotive, the steamboat, because no other possessed such natural waterways, opening such broad and rich expanses of unoccupied land. The first practical success in steam navigation had been attained in America, by Robert Fulton, on the Hudson River, in 1807. Within five years there were steamers on the Mississippi; within ten years they were launched on the Great Lakes; and from that time they were everywhere hurrying the movement of emigrants and merchandise, to populate the American interior and develop trade. Where nature had not given the needed waterway, men were stimulated to dig it for themselves, and astonishing enterprises of canal-making were set on foot. As early as 1817 the State of New York, then containing no more than a million and a quarter of inhabitants, began the building of the great Erie Canal, which it opened to travel and transportation, from the Hudson River to Lake Erie, in 1825. Then the streams of emigration flowing westward became a mighty flood, sweeping away forests, effacing the wilderness, creating farms, towns and cities, along the line of its swift advance.

From a simpler mechanical invention than the steam engine or the paddle wheel, the southern section of the Union had received still another and more powerful impulse to the extension of its settlements, the increase of its population, and the enlargement of its wealth. Cotton culture had been unprofitable till Eli Whitney, in 1793, perfected his "gin," for separating the fiber of cotton from the seed. At the same time an eager and unlimited demand for the fiber had been created in England, by the inventions for machine-spinning and weaving and by the development of the factory system, with the use of steam power. At once Whitney's "cotton gin" enabled southern planters to supply that demand, with large profit to themselves, and cotton-growing was spread over the States and Territories of the warmer belt as fast as slaves for new plantations could be procured.

Whitney's
"cotton gin,"
1793

In American history there is no occurrence of graver moment than this; for it fastened the institution of slavery on the States of the south. Previously there had been reason to hope that the system of enslaved labor would be extinguished gradually throughout the country, in a natural way. A sentiment repugnant to it was gaining force in all the border States of the slaveholding section, and emancipation in those States would weaken the institution in its small remaining seats. But a sudden and sinister change in the whole prospect was produced by the simple working of the Whitney "gin." Not only was slave labor made doubly profitable in the regions where cotton could be grown, but slaves were made doubly valuable in all the marts of the neighboring States. After 1808, no further introduction of slaves from outside of the Union was permitted, and the cotton planters must depend on a home supply. This gave rise to slave-breeding as a business, and established it in the border slave States, creating an interest in the perpetuation of slavery which moral sentiment could not overcome.

Effects of
the cotton
gin upon
slavery

Slave labor
made doubly
profitable

Develop-
ment of
slave-breed-
ing

Free States
and slave
States, 1819-
1820

Of twenty States that formed the Union in 1819, slavery had been abolished or prohibited in exactly one half. Hence the free labor and the slave labor interests were represented equally in the federal senate; but the slaveholding States had lost and were losing ground in the

Holst,
*Const. and
Pol. Hist. of
the U. S.*, 1:
350-378

Slave-holding interest in the senate

other branch of congress, notwithstanding the representation of three fifths of their slaves. The greater streams of emigration flowing into the country were drawn to the regions where labor was free, and there could not be a doubt that the weight of numbers in population, and therefore of votes in the federal house of representatives, would always be adverse to the slaveholding States. Alarmed by this prospect, the latter strove to hold the senate as a citadel of political defense, by keeping at least an even balance in that body between free and slave States. By tacit agreement and without much discussion this equilibrium had, so far, been maintained. The States added to the Union from territory south of the Ohio came in with slavery permitted; those formed in the old north-western domain were secured against it by the Ordinance of 1787,—and each section counted ten States, with twenty senatorial votes.

Question of slavery in the Louisiana Purchase

But how should it be in the making of more States, from the great new domain bought from France? That vast territory, beyond the Mississippi, had come into the possession of the United States with slavery sanctioned in it by Spanish and French laws. One slaveholding State, Louisiana, had been carved from it already, and a slaveholding population was spreading along its southern streams. Should the nation take care of its future in this matter, or leave it to be ruled by events? The question came to congress in 1819, when a bill to authorize the organization of the State of Missouri was taken up, and an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery, with provision for emancipating the future children of slaves, was offered by a member from New York. A passionate debate ensued, and the first stormy agitation of slavery questions convulsed the whole country for two years. It resulted in the famous "Missouri compromise," agreed to in March, 1820, but not determined until February, 1821, by the terms of which Missouri came into the Union with no restriction concerning slavery, but slaveholding was forbidden in all that part of the Louisiana Purchase which lies north of 36° 30', north latitude. Maine, detached from Massachusetts, was admitted to the Union at the same time.

The "Missouri compromise," 1821

The larger part of the Louisiana Purchase was secured for free labor by this compromise; but the slaveholding interest had acquired, just prior to it, another considerable extension of territory, by the purchase of Florida from Spain. That transaction was sequent to a war with the Seminole Indians of Florida, in the prosecution of which General Jackson, pursuing the Indians to their home in the Spanish province, took practical possession of East Florida, in a lawless way, expelling Spanish garrisons from Pensacola and St. Marks. West Florida, claimed by the United States, rather groundlessly, as forming part of the Louisiana Purchase, had been dealt with as American territory since 1810. After Jackson's performance, the Spanish government seems to have abandoned the hope of holding any part of the province, and consented to a cession of the whole.

Purchase of
Florida, 1819

1818

Four months prior to this, a convention with Great Britain established joint occupancy for ten years of the region called Oregon, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, between Mexico and Russian America, which both nations claimed. Thereafter the northern boundary question in that region stood unsettled till 1846.

The Oregon
question,
1818

In 1820 President Monroe was reëlected without opposition,—a distinction which he shares with President Washington alone. He owed it to no special popularity, but simply to the disorganized conditions in politics, which broke up the old Federalist party and left the Democratic Republicans in sole possession of the field. Somebody described the time as an "era of good feelings," and the pleasing phrase was much in use; but the political feeling of the period was pacified only by being confused. The Republicans as a party had lost their bearings. Many had strayed from Jeffersonian to Hamiltonian principles; had chartered a second United States bank in 1816; had framed and passed a distinctly protective tariff in the same year; had declared for a policy of "internal improvements" by the general government; had upheld Chief Justice Marshall in constitutional decisions which affirmed the sovereign nationality of the federal government. But Jeffersonian beliefs were not extinct, nor sectional oppositions reconciled; they had only lost organization for a

Reëlection
of President
Monroe,
1820

So-called
"era of good
feelings,"
1820-1824

Hamiltonian
measures of
the Jeffersonian party

time. They were soon to reappear in a new array, and the old battles, on the old issues, would be renewed.

Promulgation
of "the
Monroe
doctrine,"
1823

MacMaster,
*History of
the People
of the U. S.*,
5: 28-48

Canning's
proposal

Election of
President
John Quincy
Adams, 1824

Cry of "bar-
gain and cor-
ruption"

Schurz, *Life
of Henry
Clay*, 1:
236-257,
276-286

The second administration of President Monroe was distinguished only by the famous declaration of American policy known as the "Monroe Doctrine," which appeared in the president's message of 1823. It was called out (1) by the movements of the "holy alliance" in Europe, which seemed to be meditating some attempt to restore the sovereignty of Spain over her revolted American provinces, and (2) by signs of an ambition in Russia to broaden her American claims. In substance, the president gave notice that the United States would oppose any attempt of European powers to make conquests in the western hemisphere, or to overturn the governments existing in it, or to extend their own political system to it; and, further, that the American continents could be regarded no longer as open fields for new colonies under European control. This firm attitude on the part of the American government was encouraged by Canning, the then British secretary for foreign affairs, who had made a recent proposal that the United States and Great Britain act together in resisting the American projects of the "holy alliance." It is probable that the president's message received much of its tone from John Quincy Adams, who was Monroe's secretary of state.

Mr. Adams was made president by the election of 1824. The issues in that election were purely personal, between five candidates, all professing the same political principles and stamped with the same party name. General Jackson, "the hero of New Orleans," received the largest vote, Henry Clay received the smallest, and there was a majority for none. This carried the election into the house of representatives, and Clay's influence gave it to Adams. The fact that President Adams invited Clay to be secretary of state gave the partisans of Jackson an opportunity to charge that a bargain had been made,—that the presidency had been sold and the people cheated of their choice. It was an utterly groundless charge; no men in public were less capable of such corruption than Adams and Clay; but the public mind in large sections was poisoned by the venomous slander, and embittered

against one of the purest of presidents throughout his term.

Many circumstances conspired to weaken the administration of the second Adams and expose it to humiliations and defeats. The inevitable reconstruction of parties was begun. All the Jeffersonian reaction of the time, toward new assertions of "State sovereignty" and "State rights," went into a movement which accepted Jackson for its leader and conducted a long campaign for his election in 1828. All the Hamiltonian and Federalistic leanings that survived were rallied to the support of the Adams administration, but in a disheartened way. The latter party took the name of National Republican; the former kept the old title of Democratic Republican, but liked best to be called Democratic. President Adams was nominated for reelection by the National Republicans, but with small chance of success. General Jackson was elected by an overwhelming Democratic vote in the south and the west.

Reconstruction of parties

Democrats and National Republicans

British America

In the war of 1812-15 with the United States, the Canadians, French as well as English, showed loyalty to the British flag. Nevertheless, even before that time, both provinces were seething with discontent, which came hotly to the surface in the years after the war. In Lower Canada, race antagonisms were at the bottom of the feeling. The French Canadian majority of population, dominant in the representative assembly, claimed a right of control over revenues and expenditures which the executive branch of government, wholly English, would not concede. The contentions that arose from this cause grew in bitterness from year to year. In Upper Canada, the popular irritant was a small, exclusive party, or class, formed within the established church of England, which had contrived to get impregnable possession, for its members and their church, not only of every office of honor or emolument in the province, but of most other desirable things, such as bank charters, land grants, and the like. In the parlance of the day, their snug little bureaucratic organization, which successive governors seemed to look upon as the only part of Canada that merited their atten-

McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times*, 1: ch. iii

Contentions in Lower Canada

The "Family Compact" in Upper Canada

The mari-
time prov-
inces

tion, was described as "the Family Compact," and the political literature of the time is full of the wrath which its pretensions stirred up. In the maritime provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there was much the same friction as in Lower Canada, between legislative assemblies and irresponsible executives; but it lacked the passion that came in the other case from jealousies of race.

Spanish America

Markham, in
*Narrative
and Critical
History of
Am.*, 8: ch. v

Miranda

Revolution-
ary move-
ments, 1810

Simon
Bolivar

Independ-
ence of
Venezuela
and New
Granada,
1818-1822

At least from the time of the American revolution, thoughts of attempting to escape from the rule of Spain appear to have been working in many of her American provinces. The first man to act on them was Francisco Miranda, a Venezuelan of considerable military experience, acquired in the service of France. Miranda's undertaking, in 1806, received no support; but the next four years, during which Napoleon stole the Spanish crown for his brother, wrought a change of feeling, and Venezuela was one of five presidencies and viceroyalties in which independent governments were formed and revolt begun in 1810. The movements in Venezuela and in the neighboring viceroyalty of New Granada (which embraced the Colombia, the Ecuador and the Panama of the present day) were connected closely, and were promising success, till the awful earthquake of 1812, at Caraccas, was construed by the superstitious people as a chastisement for their revolt. This caused a quick collapse of the revolution in Venezuela, and Miranda, who led it, was sent to imprisonment in Spain, where he died. Miranda's work was then taken up by Simon Bolivar, a native of Caraccas, who, from New Granada, where the independent government held its ground, organized a fresh rising in Venezuela, with temporary success; but, again, the Spanish authorities recovered power, not only in Venezuela, but in New Granada, and it was not until 1818 that they were overcome. In fact, the independence of the two provinces was not fully secured until 1822. Bolivar had been the military chief of both, throughout the contest, and had proved himself a soldier of the higher class. Now, he entered upon a political career, with less advantage to his fame. New Granada, Venezuela, and the presidency of

Quito (Ecuador), were united in a single republic of Colombia, and Bolivar was elected to its presidential seat. Meantime, events elsewhere were calling him to a wider field.

Republic of
Colombia

The viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres was one of those in which revolutionary governments were set up in 1810; and there the revolution had immediate and complete success, so far as concerned the extinction of Spanish rule. The difficulty of the revolutionists was in establishing any authority in the capital city which the rude cattle-breeders of the pampas would submit to, or any kind of efficient bond of union between the provinces of the confederacy which they tried to form. It was a difficulty they could not overcome. In their independence, however, they were so secure that they could lend their neighbors a helping hand. The Chileans, in 1810, had renounced their allegiance to Spain, intrusted their government to a junta, and upheld it for three years. Then the viceroy of Peru, the firmest seat of Spanish power in America, attacked them with forces which they could not resist, and they would have been hopelessly crushed if the Argentines, or Buenos Ayreans, had not come to their relief. Early in 1817, San Martin, one of the leaders of the latter, crossed the Andes with 4,000 men, and, joining forces with O'Higgins, the Chilean leader, defeated the Spaniards at Chacabuco and established an independent government with O'Higgins at its head. Nevertheless, the Chilean struggle was not entirely ended till 1826.

Buenos
Ayres (Ar-
gentine con-
federation)

Revolution
in Chile,
1810-1826

San Martin
in Chile,
1810-1820

Before that time, Spanish authority in Peru, its last stronghold, had been overturned by attacks from the independent provinces on both sides. San Martin, with a force of Argentines, Chileans and European volunteers, greatly aided by a small Chilean fleet under the command of the English Lord Cochrane (afterward earl of Dundonald), entered Peru in 1820, forced the Spaniards out of Lima in the following year, proclaimed independence, and assumed for a time dictatorial power. Friction with jealous Peruvian leaders nearly caused the loss of all that he had gained, and in 1822 he resigned authority, returned to Chile, and departed thence to France. Bolivar was then approaching Peru with forces from the north,

San Martin
in Peru,
1820-1822

Bolivar in
Peru,
1822-1824

Upper Peru
becomes
Bolivia, 1825

Bolivar's
autocratic
disposition
and sus-
pected aims

Congress at
Panama,
1826

Fall and
death of
Bolivar, 1830

Paraguay
under the
Jesuits

and the two liberators had an interview and an understanding before San Martin withdrew. The final victory which won Peruvian independence was won at Ayacucho, by Bolivar's able general, Sucre, in December, 1824. In the region called Upper Peru (now Bolivia), a Spanish force held its ground for another year. That region was then declared to be a separate state, taking the name of Bolivia, and received a constitution from Bolivar, under which Sucre, his lieutenant, was chosen president for life.

Bolivar was now dictator of Peru (formally declared so in 1823), being president, at the same time, of the republic of Colombia, and practical master of the new state that bore his name. In possession of this great power and prestige, he showed an autocratic disposition, adopted oppressive measures, was suspected of designs hostile to republican institutions, and his popularity waned fast. The suspicion was only strengthened by his endeavor to form a general confederation of the Spanish-American states, in South, Central and North America, for which purpose he proposed a congress at Panama, which assembled in 1826. The United States were invited to send delegates, and did so; but the appointment of delegates was delayed so long, by opposition in the congress at Washington, that the Panama congress had adjourned (with no result) before they reached the ground. By this time, Bolivar's Colombian confederation was undergoing dissolution, Venezuela and Ecuador breaking away from it, and the liberator was losing both prestige and power. In 1830 he withdrew from public life, and died the same year. Generally, in the field of his liberating services, and in all the new Spanish-American republics, factious contentions made settled governments impossible for many years,—even, in some instances, to the present day. It may be that Bolivar's alienation from republican aims was due, with reason, to the experience he had had.

An exception to the prevailing disorder was found in Paraguay. Jesuit missionaries had been supreme in that province down to 1767, and the natives had been trained like children to be submissive to control. Spanish authority over them was exercised from the viceroyalty of

Buenos Ayres; but they refused to acknowledge the independent government that was seated there by the revolution of 1810. The result was a local dictatorship, extraordinarily despotic, which a native advocate, Dr. Francia, was able to set up, in the Napoleonic way, and to maintain for twenty-six years. In that period the Paraguayans were absolutely, in every particular, submissive to his will, having no trade with and receiving no visitors from the outer world, save rarely, by special permit.

Dr. Francia's
dictatorship,
1814-1840

Revolt in Mexico was set in motion in 1810; but after seven years of repeated risings and cruel warfare, in which leader after leader had suffered defeat, capture and death, the cause of independence seemed hopelessly lost. It was won selfishly, at last, by one who had fought against it, but who saw an opportunity to win power for himself. This was after the constitution of 1820 had been conceded in Spain. Many of the ruling party in Mexico disliked the concession, and this created a situation which an ambitious colonel in the army, Agustin de Iturbide, thought favorable for a bold stroke. Securing the support of his own command, he issued a pronunciamiento, declaring for the independence of Mexico, as a separate kingdom, under a resident Bourbon prince, with guarantees for the maintenance of the Catholic church. The scheme met with so much favor that small opposition appeared, and it was referred for consideration to Spain. When rejected by the Spanish government, as was expected, no doubt, Iturbide had become so conspicuous a national hero that his partisans proclaimed him emperor, with the title of Agustin I.; but Mexico at large was not quite prepared for this, and Iturbide wore his crown no longer than ten months. Forced then to abdicate and accept exile, with a large pension, he had the folly to return in the next year, whereupon he was arrested and shot. A federal republic had been organized meantime, with a constitution modeled on that of the United States. Santa Anna, an officer of the army, who had been prominent in the overthrow of Iturbide, became the ruling spirit of the country, and, whether in the office of president or out of it, and whether leading or resisting revolution, controlled its affairs for many years.

Revolution-
ary struggles
in Mexico,
1810-1817

Pronuncia-
miento of
Iturbide,
1821

Iturbide
proclaimed
emperor,
1822

His downfall
and death,
1823-1824

Santa Anna

Central
American
provinces,
1821-1829

It was not until 1821 that the Central American provinces declared for independence and set aside the Spanish captain-generalcy, seated in Guatemala. During the brief reign of Iturbide in Mexico they were annexed to his empire, but escaped from the Mexican connection when he fell, and united themselves in a federal republic, which was broken up in 1826 and reconstructed in 1829. For many years thereafter their history is a record, in the main, of factious and sectional contests and revolutions, not profitable to pursue.

Cuba

In Cuba there were formidable risings of the creole (non-Spanish or mixed) population, in 1823 and 1829, against the oppressive domination of the "Spanish party," but the latter were intrenched in power too strongly to be overthrown. For those who controlled its advantages, the island was in a highly prosperous state. Ever since the Seven Years War, when the English captured Havana, held it for a year, and showed in that short time what could be made of its productions and trade by throwing open its ports, there had been an improvement in the management of both. Sugar and tobacco culture gave great wealth to the planter class, with consequent power, against which the less favored elements of the population were never able to contend.

Lesson from
the English
occupation
of Havana,
1762-1763

Hayti (Santo Domingo)

S. Hazard,
*Santo Do-
mingo*

Divided be-
tween Spain
and France,
1697

The island which the Caribs called Hayti, which Columbus named Española, and which is sometimes known as Santo Domingo, from one of its divisions, was half lost to Spain in the seventeenth century, when French buccaneers took possession of its western part. French settlements were then so established that France obtained title to that western part by treaty with Spain in 1697. Soil and climate were both favorable to sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa and ginger culture, with negro slave labor, and the spread of plantations went rapidly on. When the eighteenth century approached its close there were 38,000 inhabitants of European origin in this French colony, 28,000 free people of color, mostly mulattoes, and a great number of slaves. The free colored people, though many of them were wealthy and well educated,

had no political rights. Then came the French revolution, and a decree by the French national assembly that people of color, born of free parents, were French citizens, entitled to all political privileges as such. The whites resisted and delayed the operation of the decree; the free mulattoes and blacks were determined to secure the rights it conferred; both parties were more or less divided between republicans who sympathized with the revolution in France and royalists who abhorred it; and out of the whole ferment came a conflict that was made hideous by savage risings among the slaves. Then, to make the situation worse, the French assembly revoked its decree, while Great Britain, appealed to by the white royalists, landed forces for a conquest and pacification of the island, and Spain made a rival attempt of the same kind. Commissioners sent from France to act for the revolutionary government proclaimed universal freedom, and thus won the general support of the blacks, who turned their arms against both the foreign invaders and drove them out. To this course the insurgent blacks were drawn by a remarkable leader, who had been raised by his own force of intellect and high character to an influence among them that was very soon supreme. He was a slave and the son of slaves, but had been educated by a priest. His name was Toussaint, to which the surname L'Ouverture was added when he came to be a personage of note; but why and with what meaning seems an unsettled question.

For some years Toussaint held dictatorial power over the whole Haytian island, and displayed an extraordinary political genius, comparable with that of the greater statesmen of history. He restored order, peace and prosperous industry to a land blackened with ruins and stained horribly with blood. Until 1801 he ruled it in the name of the French republic; then he did in Hayti what Napoleon had done in France—setting the republic aside. But Napoleon was not willing to be so imitated by a black, and dispatched an army, not merely to arrest Haytian independence, but to restore slavery, as well. By treacherous means, the French commander lured Toussaint into his hands and sent him a captive to France, where he died in a dungeon, in 1803. That he was

Conflict of
races, and
slave in-
surrection,
1791-1793

August, 1793

Toussaint
L'Ouverture

Beard, *Toussaint
L'Ouverture* (con-
taining auto-
biography)

Character
and rule of
Toussaint in
Hayti

His fate

H. Adams,
*Historical
Essays*, es-
say 4

French
abandon-
ment of the
island

Reign of
negro des-
pots

treated inhumanly in his prison, with intention to cause his death, and that his jailers were obedient to the wishes of Napoleon in what they did, has been made plain by documents drawn from the archives of France.

Then came evil days for Hayti, which have never reached their end. Insurrection blazed anew, and yellow fever thinned the ranks of the French till they abandoned the island and gave it up to the triumphant blacks. Leaders very different in character from Toussaint rose among them; first Dessalines, then Christophe, who established despotisms of the worst oriental pattern, one styling himself emperor and the other king. Then, in 1820, a better period was opened by an able mulatto, Jean Pierre Boyer, who contented himself with a republican presidency, and ruled intelligently, though despotically, till 1843.

Brazil

(See p. 356)

The Portu-
guese court
in Brazil,
1807-1821

Return of
the king to
Lisbon, 1821

Driven from Lisbon by Napoleon in 1807, the prince-regent of Portugal, afterward King John VI., transferred his court to Brazil, and Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the Portuguese kingdom for the next fourteen years. In many ways Brazil, and especially Rio, profited immensely by the change, which broke the trammels of the old colonial system, while Portugal suffered loss. After the fall of Napoleon in 1815, the regent (who became king the next year, on the death of his insane mother) still hesitated to return to Portugal, finding it hard to reconcile the opposed interest in the two parts of his realm, and seeming to value the great American dominion most. His difficulties were not removed by a decree which incorporated Brazil and Portugal in one kingdom. To the Portuguese, Brazil was a colony, and must be kept under colonial bonds. In 1820 they resorted to revolutionary proceedings which forced King John to return to Lisbon the following year, leaving his son, Dom Pedro, to rule as regent in Brazil. He found the cortes of Portugal uncontrollable in the matter of the treatment of the Brazilians, determined to reduce them to their old colonial dependence and restraint in trade. Its fatuous measures drove the Brazilians to a declaration of inde-

pendence, with the regent's consent, and Dom Pedro accepted the title and crown of emperor in December, 1822. Portugal resisted feebly for three years and then acknowledged the accomplished fact. The reign of Pedro I. was not satisfactory to his subjects, and in 1831 he gave up the throne to his son, Dom Pedro II., who occupied it for nearly sixty years. Shortly before the abdication of the father an important province had been lost to Brazil, by a successful revolt, which established the republic of Uruguay in 1828.

Brazil an independent empire, 1822

Uruguay

Australia

In 1800, twelve years after the founding of the settlement (mostly of convicts) at and near Sydney, in New South Wales, its numbers had increased to a little more than 6,000, and that was the total white population of Australia. The vast flocks and herds of a later time were pioneered then by no more than 1,000 cattle and 6,000 sheep; but the fitness of the country for sheep-breeding had been proved, and that profitable industry was beginning to engage capital and men. Hitherto, the colony had gone through much suffering, in a struggle with natural conditions, which were overcome. It still had serious troubles to meet, due to a dominating body of military officers, who defied the governors, assumed special privileges and monopolized wool-growing, as well as various branches of trade. After the removal of this troublesome corps, in 1810, affairs settled into a better state. Under Governor McQuarie, then appointed, exploration was pushed through the Blue Mountains, which had shut the colony into a narrow strip of coast land; broad expanses of pasture and farm land were found, and roads were constructed to open them up. The incoming of free settlers was rapid from that time. In 1823, the previous autocratic government of the colony was modified, by an act of the British parliament which created a legislative council and a supreme court. At this time, and for some years after, there was no other settlement on the continent; but a branch colony had been founded on the island at the south (Tasmania), known then as Van Dieman's Land. Some missionaries were in New

New South Wales

Beginning of sheep-breeding

Governor McQuarie

Van Dieman's Land (Tasmania)

Zealand, but no settlement on those islands had been undertaken.

India

The Wellesleys

Tippoo Sahib

Overthrow of the Marhattas, 1803, 1817-1819

Runjeet Singh

Suppression of suttee and the Thugs

In this period, of the first third of the nineteenth century, the British subjugation of India made its most important advances. An enlargement of imperialistic ambitions was carried into the administration of the East India Company by Richard Wellesley, earl of Mornington, afterward marquis of Wellesley, who was appointed governor-general in 1798. On the military side of his policy, Wellesley was assisted with great ability and vigor by his younger brother, Arthur, who found then the full opening to a career which made him duke of Wellington and gave him his splendid fame. Tippoo Sahib, successor to his father, Hyder Ali, as sultan of Mysore, and continuing his father's alliance with the French, was the first enemy to be crushed by the British arms. Two wars with the powerful confederacy of Mahratta chiefs of central and western India, conducted by the Wellesleys and Lord Lake in the first instance, and by Lord Hastings in the second, put an end to their power. Aggressions by the warlike Ghorkas of Nepal, on the northern frontier of British territory, and by the Burmese, on the eastern border, were stopped decisively, by governor-general Hastings, in 1816, and by Lord Amherst in 1824-6. Without war, the once famous Sikh ruler in the Punjab, Runjeet Singh, was checked in his projects of conquest south of the Sutlej, and his arms turned against Afghanistan and Kashmir. Within the bounds of the company's government, important measures of administration were the suppression of the dreadful Hindu practice of suttee—the burning of widows—and the extermination of the secret society of Thugs, which made murder a religious rite.

Africa

Prior to the nineteenth century there had been little of European action in Africa south of the great desert. The Portuguese had established settlements and stations on both the east and west coasts; the Dutch, between 1652

and 1795, had been in possession of the Cape of Good Hope and adjoining territory; an English settlement for freed slaves had been founded (1787) at Sierra Leone; an African association formed in England had sent Mungo Park to explore the western interior, from the Gambia; Bruce had ascended the Blue Nile; England, in 1795, had seized the Dutch Cape Colony, to keep it from passing, with Holland, under French control; some Christian missions had been undertaken in a few parts of the continent:—and the substance of known central and south African history, down to 1800, is in those facts.

Early settle-
ments and
explorations

In 1802, England restored Cape Colony to the Dutch, but in 1806, after Holland had been transformed into a Napoleonic kingdom, she took the settlement again, and gave it back no more. Between that time and 1830, more active investigations of the African interior were carried on, by British explorers,—Mungo Park, Campbell, Lyon, Laing, Clapperton, Denham, and others,—by Lichtenstein, a German, by Burchhardt, a Swiss traveler, and by Caillé, a Frenchman, who penetrated to Timbuctoo. Missions, too, of great importance in their effect, were undertaken, especially in South Africa, where the labors of Robert Moffat were begun. The republic of Liberia was founded by the American Colonization Society, in 1822, to receive a population of free negroes from the United States.

English con-
quest of
Cape
Colony, 1806

Explorations
and missions

Liberia

CHAPTER XXI

FROM THE ADVENT OF GEORGE STEPHENSON AND THE STEAM RAILWAY TO THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(1830 TO 1860)

Era of the railway and the telegraph. *Great Britain*: First reform of parliament.—Opening of the reign of Queen Victoria.—The Chartist movement.—Repeal of corn laws.—Free trade legislation.—Peel.—Gladstone.—Disraeli.—Ireland and O'Connell's agitation. *European Revolutions of 1848 and after*: Italy.—France.—Germany.—Hungary.—*Coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon.—The Crimean War.—Liberation and unification of Italy. *The United States*: Andrew Jackson president.—Jackson and nullification.—Jackson and the United States Bank.—The financial collapse of 1837.—President Van Buren.—Formation of the Whig party.—Rise of the Abolitionists.—Agitation of the slavery question.—Annexation of Texas.—War with Mexico.—Acquisition of California, New Mexico, etc.—Question of slavery in the new territory.—Compromise of 1850.—Fugitive slave law.—"Uncle Tom's Cabin."—Stephen A. Douglas.—Doctrine of "popular sovereignty."—Kansas-Nebraska bill.—Rise of Republican party.—Struggle for Kansas.—Dred Scott decision.—Lecompton constitution for Kansas.—Douglas Democratic revolt.—Douglas and Lincoln debates.—John Brown's invasion of Virginia.—Election of Abraham Lincoln. *British America*: Rebellion in the Canadas.—Reunion of the two provinces. *Australia and New Zealand*: Founding of the colonies of Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia, New Zealand, and Queensland.—Discoveries of gold. *India and Afghanistan*: Tragedy of the Afghan war.—The sepoy revolt. *China*: The "Opium War."—The Tai-ping rebellion.—Second war with England. *Japan*: The Perry expedition.—Opening of ports to foreigners. *South Africa*: Founding of the Boer republics.

The three decades of the period we are now to survey were a time of rapid ripening for many movements and many influences in the world which came to their full fruition in the next succeeding years. Conditions in Italy and Germany were ripening for the unification of both. Conditions in France were preparing for the eradication of Napoleonism and for the germination of a

A time of
ripening

true republic. Democratic influences in Great Britain were ending class-legislation, and making ready for the great liberalizing achievements of Gladstone and the party that he formed. Events in the United States were ripening a sentiment of nationality that would bear the test of the most terrible of civil wars. And every ripening influence of the time took most of its quickening from the new spirit imparted to all activities in the world by the railway locomotive and the telegraphic wire.

Locomotive
and tele-
graph

Opening of the era of the railway and the telegraph

The introduction of the railway, with steam locomotion, is the event which outranks every other in the period, by the magnitude and the universality of its effects. We may date it as an occurrence of the 15th of September, 1830, when the first considerable line of rails was opened, between Liverpool and Manchester, and trains of cars were drawn by George Stephenson's locomotives, capable of a speed of thirty-five miles an hour. In Great Britain, the development of the new system of travel and transportation was rapid,—too rapid, in fact, becoming a "railway mania," with the result of an overwhelming collapse in 1844-5. In no other country except the United States had equal progress been made. The first railway in America to use steam locomotion was a short line from Charleston, South Carolina, on which an engine was run in January, 1831. Later in the same year, the Baltimore and Ohio road, begun in 1830 as a tramway for horse cars, adopted steam. From these beginnings, the extension of railways went rapidly on. By 1833, the westward line from Charleston had been stretched to a length of a hundred and thirty-seven miles. This outran railway building at the north, where even New York and Philadelphia were not connected till 1839. The year 1842 saw Albany and Buffalo linked together, by eleven distinct railroads, consolidated afterward in one; but eight more years passed before Albany was connected by rail with New York. By that time, the line from Charleston westward had passed the mountains, reaching Chattanooga; and another from Georgia had done the same. There were then about 9,000 miles of iron rail in the United

George
Stephenson
and the first
steam rail-
way, 1830

Railway
progress in
America

1850

From 1850 to
1860

States, mostly east of the Allegheny range. In the next decade a great leap of progress westward was made, increasing the total length to 30,000 miles. In 1852 two lines from Chicago to Lake Erie were opened, and the rail connection of Chicago with New York was completed in the next year. The chain of rails reached the Mississippi in 1854, and the Missouri in 1859.

Railway be-
ginnings
on the
European
continent

Meantime, on the European continent, the railways were spreading at a much slower rate. A line of eleven miles, opened from Paris to St. Germain in 1837, was the first in France. Prussia was a year later in beginning, and had less than 3,800 miles in 1863. Belgium gave a readier welcome to the new system, beginning the construction of railways in 1833.

Beginnings of
the electric
telegraph,
1844

The electric telegraph had many inventors; but its use as a public instrument of communication between two places widely apart was begun in May, 1844, when the line built by Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, between Baltimore and Washington, was opened, and the doings of the Democratic convention at Baltimore, which nominated Mr. Polk for president, were reported to astonished congressmen at the capitol.

Events in Great Britain

The ap-
proach of a
peaceful
revolution

The epidemic of revolution which swept over continental Europe in 1830 reached England in no violent form, but touched the country, nevertheless, with the deepest and most lasting of all its effects. It cannot be said to have produced, but it quickened the coming, of that peaceful revolution, by parliamentary reform, which took the government of the kingdom from an aristocratic class and began the transferring of it to the democratic mass.

Increasing
importance
of the mid-
dle class

In a slow but sure way, the great industrial and social changes of the time had been working toward this consummation for many years. They had been raising the English middle class to the power and importance which money gives, and were gathering the increased energies of the kingdom into its hands. But, while the tendency of social changes had been to increase the importance of this powerful middle class, the political conditions had

diminished its actual weight in public affairs. In parliament, it had no adequate representation. The old boroughs, which sent members to the house of commons as they had sent them for generations before, no longer contained a respectable fraction of the "commons of England," supposed to be represented in parliament, and those who voted in the boroughs were not at all the better class of the new England of the nineteenth century. Great numbers of the boroughs were mere private estates, and the few votes polled in them were cast by tenants who elected their landlords' nominees. On the other hand, the large cities and the numerous towns of recent growth had either no representation in parliament, or they had equal representation with the "rotten boroughs" which cast two or three or half-a-dozen votes.

"Rotten
boroughs"

That the commons of England, with all the gain of substantial strength they had been making in the last half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth, endured this travesty of popular representation so long, is proof of the obstinacy of the conservatism which the French Revolution induced.

The subject of parliamentary reform had been discussed now and then since Chatham's time; but Toryism had always been able to thrust it aside and bring the discussion to naught. At last there came the day when the question would no longer be put down. The agitations of 1830, combined with a very serious depression of industry and trade, produced a state of feeling which could not be defied. King (William IV., who succeeded his brother, George IV., in 1830) and parliament yielded to the public demand, and the First Reform Bill was passed.

The First
Reform Bill,
June 7, 1832

The bill extinguished 56 of the "rotten boroughs," which had less than 2,000 inhabitants, but which had elected 111 of the members of parliament. "Thirty boroughs, having less than 4,000 inhabitants, lost each a member. . . . Twenty-two large towns, including metropolitan districts, received the privilege of returning two members; and 20 more of returning one. The large county populations were also regarded in the distribution of seats,—the number of county members being increased from 94 to 159. The larger counties were divided; and

Provisions of
the act

May, *Constitutional History of England, 1760-1860*, 1: ch. vi.

Abolition of slavery in the British colonies, Aug. 1, 1834

Other measures of reform, 1833-1834

Queen Victoria, 1837-1901

The Victorian age

Ward, editor, *The Reign of Queen Victoria*

the number of members adjusted with reference to the importance of the constituencies. . . . All narrow rights of election were set aside in boroughs; and a £10 household franchise was established. . . . The county constituency was enlarged by the addition of copyholders and leaseholders, for terms of years, and of tenants-at-will paying a rent of £50 a year." On similar lines, the representation of Scotland and Ireland was reformed.

The reform of parliament soon brought a broader spirit into English legislation. Its most important early fruit was the abolition of slavery in the colonies of Great Britain, by an act which gave immediate freedom to all children born subsequently, and to all those who were then under six years of age; while it determined for all other slaves a period of apprenticeship, lasting five years in one class and seven years in another, after which they were entirely free. The act appropriated £20,000,000 for the compensation of the owners of the liberated slaves.

By the same parliament, in the same year, the commercial monopoly of the East India Company was taken away and the Indian trade opened to all. Another measure of fine significance was the first of the laws which limit and regulate the employment of children in factories; while still another made the first of the appropriations of public money from the national treasury in aid of common schools.

On the death of King William IV., in June, 1837, his niece, Victoria, came to the throne, beginning a reign of unequalled length and of unsurpassed distinction in the history of the English people. The "Victorian Age" that opened then is comparable with the Elizabethan in the glory of its literature and in the whole ripe richness of its intellectual fruits, while exceeding that age and every other in the marvels of change that were wrought upon all the material conditions of human life. The long reign of a good woman was fortunate for England in many ways. It bettered the morals of society; it smoothed the path of progress to a perfected constitutional government; it eased the friction of the many readjustments that were



going on in every field of action and on every subject of thought.

After the first years of the reign, when the so-called "Chartist movement" gave rise to some alarm, public order was never disturbed to any serious extent: The Chartists were simply over-hasty in their demands. Their "people's charter" embodied more concessions than British conservatism could be expected to yield suddenly, in the lump. Of its six democratic claims, namely,—universal manhood suffrage, equalized districts for representation in parliament, ballot voting, annual parliaments, pay and no property qualification for members of parliament,—the most essential have been wholly or nearly satisfied since, and the remainder are not likely to wait long.

The Chartist movement,
1838-1848

Simultaneously with the starting of the Chartist movement, another agitation, directed against the corn laws, was opened by Richard Cobden and John Bright. Sir Robert Peel attempted first to meet the demands of these reformers by the contrivance of a "sliding scale" of protective duties on breadstuffs, raising them when prices in the home market dropped, and lowering them proportionately when home prices rose. By this device the consumers were still deprived, as much as possible, of any cheapening of their bread which bountiful Nature might offer, and still paid a heavy tax to increase the gains of the owners and cultivators of land. Now that other interests besides the agricultural had a voice in parliament, and had become very strong, they denounced the entire principle of such laws. The famous "anti-corn law league," organized mainly by the exertions of Richard Cobden, conducted an agitation of the question which brought about the repeal of the laws in 1846, by the act of a conservative ministry and parliament, under the lead of Sir Robert Peel.

The corn laws
(See p. 371)

Morley,
Life of Richard Cobden,
1: ch. vi-xvi

Peel's "sliding scale"

Repeal of the corn laws,
1846

The effect of the agitation did not end there. So thorough and prolonged a discussion of the matter had enlightened the English people upon the whole question between "protection" and free trade. The manufacturers and mechanics, who had led the movement against protective duties on food-stuffs, were brought to see that they were handicapped more than protected by duties on im-

Free-trade legislation,
1846-1849

ports in their own departments of production. So Cobden and his party continued their attacks on the theory of "protection" until every vestige of it was cleared from the English statute books.

Gladstone
and Disraeli
Morley, *Life
of Gladstone*

Rise of the
Liberal party

Gladstone,
the reformer,
— Disraeli,
the imperial-
ist

"Jingoism"

Ireland

Duffy,
*Birdseye
View of
Irish His-
tory*, rev. ed.
242-275, and
*Young Ire-
land*

Among the men who rose to political prominence at this time were two, William Ewart Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli, who became rival chiefs of British parties, conspicuously opposed in character and principle, and in the tendency of the strong influence that they exercised during subsequent years. Peel died in 1850, and Gladstone succeeded to his leadership of that section of the old Tory or Conservative party which recognized the growing need of many reforms in English policy and law. These entered into union with the Whigs of kindred disposition, forming a strong Liberal party, led for a few years by Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, but raised finally to great power by Gladstone, who imparted to it a broader liberality and directed it to bold undertakings of reform. Disraeli, who started in public life with professions of radicalism, cast them off at an early day, and joined those who opposed the whole reforming movement of the times. With extraordinary artfulness he won his way to the leadership of this opposition, and was master of British conservatism for many years. While the main purpose in Gladstone's policy was to better social and political conditions at home, the chief aim of Disraeli was to expand the British dominion, enlarge the prestige and pretensions of the empire, and make it figure more conspicuously in foreign affairs. It was in his day that national ambitions of this vainglorious and unscrupulous character began to be called "jingoism" and "imperialism," and began to acquire a new hold on public feeling, in other countries as well as in England, and to become a newly mischievous influence in the world. Disraeli's experience of the political value of "jingo" excitements of thoughtless popular feeling afforded a fresh lesson to reckless politicians, and one that they were very ready to learn.

In 1840 and 1841 Ireland was excited nearly to the point of rebellion by an attempt to extort from England the repeal of the Act of Union, and the restoration of an independent parliament to the Irish nation. Daniel

O'Connell, who led the movement with extraordinary energy and eloquence, was silenced at last by arrest and imprisonment, which practically ended his career. On appeal to the House of Lords, the judgment against him was annulled; but age and infirmities had exhausted his powers. His place in Ireland was taken by men, organizers of a "Young Ireland party," who had armed rebellion in view. Church questions were now slipping into the background of Irish grievances, and land questions, between the peasantry of the impoverished island and their landlords, were coming to the front. Generally, in the Irish view, the Irish landlord was a foreign invader and despoiler, holding his estates by the perpetuated force of some old-time conquest, or confiscation, or oppressive seizure, and wringing a heartless tribute from his tenants, for spending commonly in luxurious life abroad. In this view the land question became more and more burning in the Irish politics of later years.

O'Connell and the agitation for "repeal," 1840-1841

The Young Ireland party

Irish land questions

The European revolutions of 1848

Another year of revolutions throughout Europe came in 1848, and the starting point of excitement was not, this time, at Paris, but, strangely enough, in the Vatican, at Rome. Pius IX. had been elected to the papal chair in 1846, and had rejoiced the hearts and raised the hopes of the patriots in misgoverned Italy by his liberal measures of reform and his promising words. The attitude of the pope gave encouragement to popular demonstrations in various Italian states during the later part of 1847; and in January, 1848, a formidable rising occurred in Sicily, followed in February by another in Naples. King Ferdinand II. was compelled to change his ministers and to concede a constitution, which he did not long respect.

Pope Pius IX.

Italy

Thayer, *Dawn of Italian Independence*, 2: bk. 4

Lombardy was slow this time in being kindled; but when the flame of revolution burst out it was very fierce. The Austrians were driven first from Milan, and then from city after city, until they seemed to be abandoning their Italian possessions altogether. Venice asserted its republican independence under the presidency of Daniel Manin. Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, thought the time favorable for recovering Lombardy to himself, and

March, 1848

Daniel Manin

Custozza,
July 25, 1848

declared war against Austria. The expulsion of the Austrians became the demand of the entire peninsula, and even the pope, the grand duke of Tuscany, and the king of Naples were forced to make a pretense of favoring the patriotic movement. But the king of Sardinia brought ruin on the whole undertaking, by sustaining a fatal defeat in battle at Custoza, in July.

France

France had been for some time well prepared for revolt, and was quick to be moved by the first whisper of it from Italy. The short-lived popularity of Louis Philippe was a thing of the past. There was widespread discontent with many things. The French people had the desire and the need of something like that grand measure of electoral reform which England secured so peacefully in 1832; but they could not reach it in the peaceful way. The aptitude and the habit of handling and directing the great forces of public opinion in such a situation were wanting among them. There was a mixture, moreover, of social theories and dreams in their political undertaking, which heated the movement and made it more certainly explosive. The Parisian mob built barricades and rose in arms. The next day Louis Philippe signed an abdication, and a week later he was an exile in England.

Abdication
of Louis
Philippe,
Feb. 24, 1848

The second
French re-
public

National
workshops

Senior, *Jour-
nals in
France and
Italy, 1848-
1852*, 1: 14-59

Louis Na-
poleon
Bonaparte,
president

Germany

For the remainder of the year France was strangely ruled: first by a self-constituted provisional government, Lamartine at its head, which opened national workshops, and attempted to give employment and pay to 125,000 enrolled citizens in need; afterward by a constituent national assembly, and an executive commission, which found the national workshops a devouring monster, difficult to control and hard to destroy. Paris got rid of the shops in June, at the cost of a battle which lasted four days, and in which more than 8,000 people were wounded or slain. In November a republican constitution, framed by the assembly, was adopted, and on the 10th of December Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Louis Bonaparte, once king of Holland, and of Hortense Beauharnais, daughter of the empress Josephine, was elected president of the republic by an enormous popular vote.

The revolutionary shock of 1848 was felt in Germany soon after the fall of the monarchy in France. In March

there was rioting in Berlin and a collision with the troops, which alarmed the king so seriously that he yielded promises to almost every demand. Similar risings in other capitals had about the same success. At Vienna, the outbreak was more violent, and drove both Metternich and the emperor from the city. In the first flush of these popular triumphs there came about a most hopeful-looking election of a Germanic national assembly, representative of all Germany, and gathered at Frankfort, on the invitation of the diet, for a revision of the constitution of the confederation. But the assembly contained more scholars than practical statesmen, and its constitutional deliberations were wasted work. A constituent assembly elected in Prussia accomplished no more, and was dispersed in the end without resistance; but a constitution of his own framing was granted by the king. The revolutionary movement in Germany left its effects, in a general loosening of the bonds of harsh government, a general broadening of political ideas, a final breaking of the Metternich influence, even in Austria; but it passed over the existing institutions of the much-divided country with a very light touch.

Müller, *Political History of Recent Times*, 3d period

Germanic national assembly

Wasted constitution-making

General effects

In Hungary the revolution, stimulated by the eloquence of Kossuth, was carried to the pitch of serious war. The Hungarians had resolved to be an independent nation, and in the struggle which ensued they approached very near the attainment of their desire; but Russia came to the help of the Hapsburgs, and the armies of the two despotisms combined were more than the Hungarians could resist. Their revolt was abandoned in August, 1849, and Kossuth, with other leaders, escaped through Turkish territory to other lands.

Hungary

Godkin, *History of Hungary*

Kossuth

The suppression of the Hungarian revolt was followed by a complete restoration of the despotism and domination of the Austrians in Italy. Charles Albert, of Sardinia, had taken courage from the struggle in Hungary and had renewed hostilities in March, 1849. But, again, he was crushingly defeated, at Novara, and resigned the crown to his son, Victor Emmanuel II. Venice, which had resisted a long siege with heroic constancy, capitulated in August of the same year. The whole of Lombardy and Venetia

Italy, again 1849

Novara, March 23, 1849

Rome was bowed once more under the tyranny of the Austrians, and savage revenges were taken upon the patriots who failed to escape. Rome, whence the pope—no longer a patron of liberal politics—had fled, and where a republic had been once more set up, with Garibaldi and Mazzini in its constituent assembly, was besieged and taken, and the republic overturned, by troops sent from republican France. The Neapolitan king restored his atrocious absolutism by brutal measures, and with no need of help.

Ireland A weak attempt at rebellion in Ireland, attempted by the Young Ireland party, was suppressed by the police, with no cost of life.

Civil war in Switzerland, 1848 A civil war in Switzerland, which occurred simultaneously with the political collisions in surrounding countries, is hardly to be classed with them. It was rather a religious conflict, between the Roman Catholics and their opponents. The Catholic cantons, united in a league, called the Sonderbund, were defeated in the war; the Jesuits were expelled from Switzerland in consequence, and, in September, 1848, a new constitution for the confederacy was adopted.

Napoleonism in France The election of Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French republic was ominous of a willingness among the people to bring back a Napoleonic régime, with all the falsities that it might imply. He so construed the vote which elected him, and does not seem to have been deceived. Having surrounded himself with unprincipled adventurers, and employed three years of his presidency in preparations for the attempt, he executed a *coup d'état*, dispersing the national assembly, arresting influential republicans, filling Paris with lawless troops who terrorized the city by an unprovoked massacre, and manipulating the adoption of a new constitution which prolonged his presidency to ten years. This was but the first step. A year later he secured a *plébiscite* which made him hereditary emperor of the French. The new empire—the Second Empire in France—was more vulgar, more false, more fraudulent, more swarmingly a nest of self-seeking and dishonest adventurers, than the First had been, and with nothing of the saving genius that was in the First. It rotted for eighteen years, and then it fell, France with it.

Coup d'état
of Louis Na-
poleon, Dec.
2, 1851

Kinglake,
*The Inva-
sion of the
Crimea*, 1:
ch. xiv

Emperor,
1852

The Crimean War

A certain respectability was lent to this second Napoleonic empire by the alliance of England with it, against Russia, in 1854. The czar, Nicholas, had determined to defy resistance in Europe to his designs against the Turks. He endeavored first to persuade England to join him in dividing the possessions of "the sick man," as he described the Ottoman, and, that proposal being declined, he opened on his own account a quarrel with the Porte. France and England joined forces in assisting the Turks, and the little kingdom of Sardinia, from motives of far-seeing policy, came into the alliance. The principal campaign of the war was fought in the Crimea, and its notable incident was the long siege of Sebastopol, which the Russians defended until September, 1855. An armistice was concluded the following January, and the terms of peace were settled at a general conference of powers in Paris the next March. The results of the war were a check to Russia, but an improvement of the condition of the sultan's Christian subjects. Moldavia and Wallachia were soon afterward united under the name of Roumania, with independence in government, but paying tribute to the Porte.

Kinglake,
*The Invasion of the
Crimea*

"The sick
man"

Siege of Se-
bastopol,
1854-1855

Roumania

Liberation and unification of Italy

The part taken by Sardinia in the Crimean War gave that kingdom a standing in European politics which had never been recognized before. It was a measure of sagacious policy due to the able statesman, Count Cavour, who had become the trusted minister of Victor Emmanuel, the Sardinian king. The king and his minister were agreed in one aim—the unification of Italy under the headship of the house of Savoy. By her participation in the war with Russia, Sardinia won a position which enabled her to claim and secure admission to the congress of Paris, among the greater powers. At that conference, Count Cavour found an opportunity to direct attention to the deplorable state of affairs in Italy, under Austrian influence and rule. No action by the congress was taken; but the Italian question was raised in importance by the discussion of it, and Italy was rallied to the side of Sar-

Count
Cavour

Mazade,
*Life of
Count
Cavour*,
ch. ii-vii

Sardinia at
the congress
of Paris, 1856

dinia, as the necessary head of any practicable movement toward liberation.

More than that: France was moved to sympathy with the Italian cause, and Louis Napoleon was led to believe that by taking it up he might strengthen his throne. He encouraged Cavour and Victor Emmanuel, therefore, in an attitude toward Austria which resulted in war, and when the Sardinians were attacked he went to their assistance with a powerful force. At Magenta and Solferino the Austrians were beaten decisively, and the French emperor then closed the war, making a treaty which ceded only Lombardy to Sardinia, leaving Venetia still under the oppressor, and the remainder of Italy unchanged in its state. For payment of the service he had rendered, Louis Napoleon exacted Savoy and Nice, and Victor Emmanuel was compelled to part with the original seat of his house.

French inter-
vention

Magenta and
Solferino,
June 4 and
24, 1859

The price of
French help

Annexations
to Sardinia

Garibaldi in
the Neapolitan
kingdom,
May-Sept.,
1860

Garibaldi,
*Autobiog-
raphy*, 2:
3d period

Formation of
the Kingdom
of Italy,
February, 1861

There was bitter disappointment among the Italian patriots over the meagerness of the fruit yielded by the splendid victories of Magenta and Solferino. Despite the treaty of Villafranca, they were determined to have more, and they did. Tuscany, Parma, Modena and Romagna demanded annexation to Sardinia, and, after a *plébiscite*, they were received into the kingdom and represented in its parliament. In the Two Sicilies there was an intense longing for deliverance from the brutalities of the Neapolitan Bourbons. Victor Emmanuel could not venture an attack upon the rotten kingdom, for fear of resentments in France and elsewhere; but the adventurous soldier, Garibaldi, now took on himself the task of completing the liberation of Italy. With an army of volunteers, he first swept the Neapolitans out of Sicily, and then took Naples itself, within the space of four months. The whole dominion was annexed to what now became the Kingdom of Italy, embracing the entire peninsula except Rome, garrisoned for the pope by French troops, and Venetia, still held in the clutches of Austria.

Spain

A few words will tell sufficiently the story of Spain since the successor of Joseph Bonaparte quitted the scene.

Ferdinand VII. died in 1833, and his infant daughter was proclaimed queen, as Isabella II., with her mother, Christina, regent. Isabella's title was disputed by Don Carlos, the late king's brother, and a civil war between Carlists and Christinos went on for years. When Isabella came of age she proved to be a dissolute woman, with strong proclivities toward arbitrary government.

Carlists and
Christinos

French conquest of Algiers

To obtain reparation for an insult to one of its consuls, France launched an expedition, in 1830, against the dey of Algiers, captured his city, dethroned him, and took his dominion to itself. The conquest was not final until 1846, when the last Algerine leader, Abd-el-Kader, who had fought with great obstinacy for thirteen years, surrendered and became a prisoner in France.

Abd-el-
Kader

The United States of America.

The new American democracy, developed in the United States since the westward expansion of their Union began, found congenial qualities of temper, spirit and character in General Andrew Jackson, the "hero of New Orleans," whom it raised to the presidency at the election of 1828. Jackson's education had been slight, and his general knowledge was extremely limited, with no consciousness in himself of the fact; his mind worked in narrow grooves, forming hasty judgments, infected easily with lasting prejudices, caught from hasty impressions; his disposition was pugnacious and obstinate; his self-confidence was boundless; but he was inflexibly honest-hearted, radically patriotic in political feeling, and, in every attribute of his rugged nature, he was commandingly, impressively strong. The multitude was fascinated by the power of good intention in the man, and heedless of the dangers that menace government when such a power in it lacks wise guidance and restraint. He became, therefore, the almost omnipotent chief of his party, and his influence in the country for many years was far beyond that of any other man. His presidency of eight years was more nearly a dictatorship—made so by the masterfulness of his will—than any other before or since.

Andrew
Jackson,
president,
1829-1837

Wilson,
*Division
and Re-
union*,
ch. i-iii

His charac-
ter

His popular-
ity and influ-
ence

Jackson's
"kitchen
cabinet"

Naturally, under such a president, the heads of department in the administration lost their standing and proper function as his responsible advisers, and became little more than the highest of executive clerks. Their chief took less counsel from them than from a circle of politicians, who shared his prejudices or played upon them adroitly, and who influenced the conduct of the government without official responsibility for its acts. Notwithstanding its attempted privacy, this "kitchen cabinet," as it was styled, became a conspicuous institution of the Jackson régime. Nothing so repugnant to the principles of constitutional government could establish itself lastingly, however, and the official cabinet of the president recovered its functions when Jackson went back to private life.

The "spoils
system"

A more enduring and more serious injury to good government and to political morality was done by the introduction into the national public service of what came to be known as the "spoils system," which President Jackson and his party made haste to adopt, from examples set already in New York and other States. Hitherto the federal administration had been preserved with scrupulous care by its presidents from that pernicious practice, which deals with public offices and appointments as spoils of political warfare, to be taken by the victors from the vanquished after every party contest, and distributed for the rewarding of partisan zeal. With the advent of President Jackson the swarming of place-hunters to Washington, the periodical overturning of offices and clerkships throughout the country, the conversion of political parties into mercenary and predatory organizations, and the consequent debasement of all public life, were begun.

Its introduction
in the
national
government

President
Jackson and
nullification,
1832-
1833

Sumner, *Andrew Jackson as a Public Man*,
ch. x

At one grave crisis in the period of his presidency the peculiar qualities of General Jackson proved of value beyond measure to the Union, and his resolute, unhesitating action at that time, when the State of South Carolina assumed a right to "nullify" and forbid the execution of an act of congress, gives him a high place in American history. A tariff law, passed in 1828, was offensive to the south, and provoked a revival of the "nullification" theory, as propounded in the Kentucky resolutions of 1798. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina,

became the leading champion of the theory; but the most famous declaration of it was made by Senator Hayne, of the same State, in a speech to which Daniel Webster made a still more famous reply. No action on the theory was attempted, however, until November, 1832, after congress, by another tariff act, had increased the discontent in the south. Then South Carolina, by a solemn ordinance, declared both of the objectionable acts to be void of authority within her limits, and took measures to prevent their being carried into effect. The nullifiers had hoped that the president's notions of "State rights" would deter him from interference with their plans. They were soon to learn that he cared more for the Union than for its States, and that the obligation to maintain it was supreme in his belief. Warning them, and yet reasoning and pleading with them, in a masterly proclamation, which is known to have been written by Edward Livingston, then secretary of state, he made it understood that he saw nothing in their project but treason and rebellion, and that he should strike it with all the power at his command. From Andrew Jackson that warning had more impressiveness than even Washington could have given it, and the hot-heads of the nullification party were sobered at once. Congress passed a "force bill" which armed the president with new powers, but enacted at the same time a "compromise tariff" act, providing for a series of reductions in the duties complained of in the southern States. South Carolina repealed her nullifying ordinance, and the doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions of 1798 was sunk in oblivion from that day.

In his own belief, no doubt, President Jackson served his country less in this case than in his overthrow of the United States Bank. The circumstances and incidents of that exciting performance cannot be related in a sketch of history like this, but they had a leading place in the thought, talk and public feeling of the time. Strongly intrenched in popular favor as the bank seemed to be, Jackson was far stronger, and when, on the question of renewing its charter, an appeal from him was made to the people, in the presidential election of 1832, he triumphed overwhelmingly. Then, merciless in his triumph, defiant

The Hayne
and Webster
debate, Jan.,
1830

The South
Carolina
ordinance,
Nov., 1832

President
Jackson's
proclama-
tion, Dec. 10,
1832

Force bill
and compro-
mise tariff,
March, 1833

Overthrow
of the United
States Bank,
1832

Sumner,
*Andrew
Jackson*,
ch. xi-xiv

Withdrawal
of govern-
ment de-
posits, 1833

of congress and regardless of opposing counsel from most of his official advisers, he forced a withdrawal of government deposits from the bank, and a distribution of the public moneys among other banking institutions, which had disturbing financial effects. The stricken bank continued business for a few years, under a charter from Pennsylvania, but went to pieces finally, with many others, in a general crash.

Monetary
and com-
mercial col-
lapse, 1837

Among several causes of that financial and commercial collapse, which came in 1837, the president's arbitrary removal and distribution of the government deposits is to be counted as one. Circumstances had been tending for some years toward the production of such a result. Since recovering from the depression that attended and followed the war of 1812-14, the country had been going through a period of extraordinary stimulations, which fevered its blood and excited its nerves. Immigration from the Old World and emigration from the Atlantic slope to the great interior valleys had swollen to floods. Population in the young States of the west had been multiplied by threefold in some and by eightfold in others within a decade and a half. There seemed to be boundless possibilities of expansion and increase, and of public and private enterprise to keep pace with both. The inevitable effect was to engender wild speculations, especially in land; and these were stimulated by the distribution of government deposits, which started many new banks into existence, all active in promoting the speculative spirit of the time. An inflated and depreciated paper currency and an inflated credit system floated most of the business of the country in the air.

Rapid de-
velopment of
the west

Inflated pa-
per currency
and inflated
credit system

Distribution
of surplus
revenues,
1836-1837

A second act of mischief was performed by the government in 1836, when congress decided that \$37,000,000 of a surplus which had accumulated in the national treasury should be distributed in quarterly installments among the States. The first effect of this distribution was a new stimulus to speculation; but when the transfer of large sums from banks all over the country to State treasuries began to be made, it brought a fatal strain upon the unsound monetary system of the time. Probably nothing more was needed to produce collapse; but the president, becoming suspicious of the stability of the banks and the

worth of their notes, added a final touch, by ordering that coin alone should be taken in payment for public lands.

After this much abused "specie circular," the bursting of the bubble of "wild-cat" banking and speculation was only a question of a little time. It was barely deferred till Jackson went out of office, in the spring of 1837. His successor, Martin Van Buren (lately vice-president), had to face the ruinous catastrophe in the first weeks of his term; and he did so with great courage and with a wise apprehension of economic causes at the bottom of what had occurred. He insisted upon radical measures of financial reform, aiming especially at a total separation of governmental from commercial finance, in order to exclude politics from the business management of banking and monetary affairs. After three years of struggle with congress he succeeded in organizing what was known as the "independent treasury" or "sub-treasury" system, keeping the funds of the government in its own treasury and in sub-treasuries, established in leading cities. His system was soon abolished by its opponents, but only for a time. Re-instituted in 1846, it has existed since, with little change. The country owes to President Van Buren, and to public men with whom he was allied, very much of the sounder financial policy that has prevailed since his day.

In the election of 1836 a new party combination, against the Jackson Democracy, was formed. It united those known formerly as National Republicans with a body of "Anti-Masons," which had sprung up in New York within recent years and spread thence to other States. The members of this new party adopted the old English name of Whigs. Their main candidate for president, against Van Buren, was General William Henry Harrison; but Daniel Webster was nominated and supported by the Massachusetts Whigs.

Nobody in Jackson's day would have doubted that the most memorable events of his presidency were his overthrow of the "nullifiers" and of the United States Bank. But, seen in the light of after history, the period is marked much deeper by incidents which made slavery the all-absorbing subject of conflict in American politics, and opened an era of passionate sectional strife. Until this

Bursting of
the bubble
April-May,
1837

Martin Van
Buren, presi-
dent, 1837-
1841

Shepard,
*Martin Van
Buren*

Van Buren's
"independ-
ent treasury"

Formation
of the Whig
party

time there had been no systematic and persisting agitation of questions concerning slavery. The controversies had been occasional,—incidental to circumstances, such as those that gave rise to the Missouri compromise of 1820-21. But now the antagonisms of feeling and opinion on the subject broke, almost suddenly, into a war that forbade any peace. Slavery was attacked in one section and championed in the other by people who would listen to no terms.

Opening of a
persistent
agitation of
slavery ques-
tions, 1831-
1833

William
Lloyd Garri-
son and the
anti-slavery
societies

Goldwin
Smith, *The
Moral Cru-
sader*

The implacable crusade of the Abolitionists against slavery was opened by William Lloyd Garrison in 1831, when he founded *The Liberator*, at Boston, and their warfare became organized by the formation of the New England and the American anti-slavery societies in 1832 and 1833. For many years the Abolitionist agitators were few in numbers and weak in direct influence, notwithstanding the intensity of their zeal and the eloquence of their writing and speech. Their willingness to rupture the Union, merely to escape from political association with the slaveholding States, was repellent to a large majority of the anti-slavery people of the country, and their appeals and denunciations did not, for that reason, cause any strong movement of feeling in the north. In reality, it was not *their* agitation, half so much as it was the counter-agitation provoked by it, that drove every other question into the background of American politics, and gave the country no rest till it decided whether slavery or freedom should be destroyed.

The counter-
agitation and
its effects

Pro-slavery
demands

Maddened by the denunciations of the Abolitionists, and by an always haunting dread of servile insurrection, the extreme champions of slavery began wild and fatuous efforts to suppress all expressions of opinion touching the system of human bondage except their own. They demanded of northern communities that no press or orator or meeting should be permitted to discuss slavery in a hostile tone. They demanded of congress that anti-slavery writings should be excluded from the mails, and that no petition concerning slavery should be received by the national legislature, in either house. In the face of that clause of the constitution which declares "the right of the people . . . to petition the government," congress yielded

to this last demand, and for nine years, from 1836 until 1845, petitioners for an abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the suppression of slave marts at Washington, and for other measures clearly proper for consideration, as well as clearly within the jurisdiction of congress, were denied their constitutional right to be heard. It was then that John Quincy Adams, the venerable ex-president, who had accepted an election to the house of representatives, performed the great service of his life. Day after day, through all the nine years, he rose in his place to offer the forbidden petitions, which came to him by hundreds, and compelled the house and the country to listen to his denunciation of the lawless outrage of the treatment they received. At last a public opinion was roused which the violators of the constitution did not dare to defy any longer, and the insolent "gag-rule" of congress was annulled.

The right of petition suppressed, 1836-1845

John Quincy Adams in congress

Morse, *John Quincy Adams*, ch. iii

The course taken by the southern extremists, led by John C. Calhoun, forced men to strike at slavery in defense of the cardinal liberties of a republic, which are freedom of mind, freedom of utterance, and freedom of communication between the people and their representatives in the government. It drove hundreds into a rising movement of steadfast political resistance to the spread of slavery, where the movement of the Abolitionists gained one. At the same time, the slaveholding interest acquired a solidity and a strength which attracted the alliance of ambitious politicians in the north. And so it came about that the slavery question began in these years to expel all other subjects of contention from the American mind, opening a rift in the politics of the United States which widened rapidly, until it had produced the awful cleavage of civil war.

Calhoun the pro-slavery leader

Holst, *Calhoun*, ch. vi

Domination of the slavery question in American politics

Till late in the period of conflict now opened, the slaveholding interest was always victorious, made so by its own solid unity, its own aggressive energy, and the consequent value of its alliance to politicians who looked at slavery with indifference, as many were able to do. Its grand aim was the multiplication of slave States, and the acquisition of Texas for that purpose was the first object that came into view. Since Mexico cast off the yoke of Spain,

The Texas question
 Wilson, *Division and Re-union*, ch. vi
 Revolt and independence of Texas, 1836
 Proposals of annexation

its province of Texas had been entered by large numbers of American and British settlers, who paid little respect to Mexican authority, and were generally expecting an opportunity to acquire independence, or to make themselves a part of the United States. Their expectation of independence was realized in 1836, after a brief war of rebellion and a decisive victory, at San Jacinto, where the president of Mexico, Santa Anna, became a prisoner in their hands. The republican government which they organized was recognized by President Jackson, and proposals for the annexation of the new republic to the United States were made to Jackson's successor, President Van Buren, but declined. Such annexation meant war with Mexico and a fresh excitement of the slavery question, both of which were averted while Van Buren had the power.

President Tyler, 1841-1845

In the presidential election of 1840, President Van Buren and his party were defeated by the Whigs, who elected General Harrison president and John Tyler vice-president,—the latter a Virginia Democrat, who had gone into opposition to Jackson and Van Buren, and into alliance, but not communion, with the Whigs. One month after his inauguration President Harrison died, and Tyler, who succeeded him, was soon in quarrels with the Whig leaders which broke all relations between their party and himself. Being warmly in favor of the annexation of Texas, President Tyler reopened negotiations with the Texans, and was assisted by Calhoun, who became his secretary of state. The result was a treaty of annexation, signed and sent to the senate in April, 1844, but rejected in that body by a large adverse vote.

The Texas question in the election of 1844

The Texas question was now before the people, in the year of a presidential election, and became the dominant issue of the campaign. Clay and Van Buren were candidates for presidential nomination by their respective parties, and both of them, in public letters, opposed the annexation scheme. The Whigs accepted Clay's position and put him in nomination; the Democrats rejected Van Buren and nominated an ardent annexationist, James K. Polk. Had Clay stood firm in his original attitude there seems to be no doubt that he would have carried the elec-

tion, by winning the radical anti-slavery voters, who were organized as a Liberty Party. But he grew anxious for southern votes as the canvass proceeded, and wrote such wavering letters that the Liberty party put forward a candidate of its own, who drew votes enough to turn the scale in the great State of New York and give a majority of the electoral vote to Polk.

Fatal wavering of Clay

Both congress and the president now assumed that the people, by the verdict of the election, had commanded that Texas, with her slaves and her slave-laws, should be taken into the Union, and they made haste to execute the decree. Without waiting for the negotiation of a new treaty, they accomplished the annexation by a joint resolution of congress, which was signed by President Tyler on the 1st of March, 1845, three days before the end of his term. According to the terms of the annexing resolution, four States, besides Texas proper, might thereafter be formed in the territory claimed by the Texans, and such States should be admitted to the Union with or without slavery, as they willed, if formed on the south of the Missouri compromise line.

The annexation of Texas accomplished, 1845

Had the territory claimed by the annexed republic, and now claimed by the United States, covered no more than the actual province of Texas,—the province whose people had broken it from Mexico by a successful revolt, and beyond which no revolution had occurred,—the annexation would never have caused war. But the Texans had manufactured a claim which stretched westward to the Rio Grande and northward to the old Spanish bounds, and the United States undertook to enforce that claim. General Zachary Taylor was sent with forces to take possession of a vast region over which the Texans had never exercised the least control. Early in 1846, Taylor's orders carried him to the Rio Grande, and a skirmish occurred there which President Polk reported to congress in a fiery message, declaring that Mexico "has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Congress declared war; but the flagrance of the "unparalleled outrage" upon Mexico, as Senator Benton, of Missouri, had characterized the whole proceeding from its beginning, was so apparent to the country that the party

Mexican territory claimed by Texas

War with Mexico

Schouler, *History of the U. S.*, 5 ch. xviii, sect. 2

responsible for it lost heavily in the congressional elections of 1846. From a majority of 60 in the house of representatives it was reduced to a minority of 8.

Campaign
of General
Taylor in
Mexico,
1846-1847

Seizure of
New Mexico
and Cali-
fornia

Campaign
of General
Scott, 1847

Treaty of
Guadalupe
Hidalgo,
Feb. 2, 1848

Territorial
cessions by
Mexico

Settlement
of the Ore-
gon bound-
ary, 1846

In the first period of the war General Taylor drove the Mexicans beyond the Rio Grande, defeating them at Palo Alto (May 8), Resaca de la Palma (May 9), and Buena Vista (February 23, 1847), capturing Monterey (September 24, 1846). Meantime, General Kearney, moving from Fort Leavenworth, took possession of New Mexico and went on to California. The latter Mexican province had been seized already by a naval squadron and by a small force under Colonel John C. Frémont, who was conducting explorations in the far western mountains and beyond. Then, in the spring of 1847, a new campaign was opened by General Winfield Scott, who landed an army at Vera Cruz, taking that city (March 27, 1847), and advanced thence to the Mexican capital, overcoming stubborn resistance at the mountain pass of Cerro Gordo (April 18). Between the 19th of August and the 13th of September, six assaults were made upon the outer defenses of the capital, at Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, Casa Mata, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec, and the city was then taken, after three days of desperate fighting in the streets. Nevertheless, the Mexicans would enter on no parley for peace till the following January, when negotiations were opened which resulted in a treaty, signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, on the 2d of February, 1848. Mexico had been beaten to such submission that she yielded the whole Texan claim, and sold to the United States, in addition, for \$15,000,000, all the remainder of New Mexico, and all that is now Utah, Nevada, and California, as well as part of Colorado and a corner of Wyoming (west of the Rocky Mountains), with so much of Arizona as lies north of the Gila River. Five years later the remainder of the present Arizona was purchased for \$10,000,000.

At the north of this vast acquisition stretched the Oregon country, concerning which the long dispute between Great Britain and the United States had been brought to a settlement in June, 1846. The joint occupation established by the convention of 1818 was ended, and

the whole area up to the 49th parallel of latitude had come into the possession of the United States. In almost its whole latitudinal extent the domain of the republic was expanded suddenly from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific coast.

And now came the fierce contention for and against the spreading of slavery in this great new domain. Mexico had been ridding herself of servile labor by gradual emancipation since 1829. The Texans had defied her laws and filled their province with slaves, but all other Mexican territory that came to the United States came as legally free soil, and northern feeling moved fast to the determination that its freedom should be preserved. In August, 1846, two amendments to bills pending in congress were moved by Democratic representatives from Pennsylvania, one of which (known afterward as the "Wilmot proviso") would exclude slavery from all territory acquired by treaty from Mexico, while the other would bar it from Oregon. Both amendments passed the house of representatives, and both were lost in the senate; both were renewed at the next session of congress with the same result; but the senate yielded in 1848 on the question concerning Oregon, and that Territory was organized with a proviso against the holding of slaves. Touching the Mexican acquisitions there was still a great battle to be fought.

In opposing the Wilmot proviso the champions of slavery advanced to a new constitutional doctrine, denying the authority of the federal government to exclude slavery from any Territory, for the reason that slaves were "property" under the laws of half the States, and that no citizen could be forbidden to go with his property to any part of a domain that belongs in common to all the States. Until the sovereignty of statehood had been conferred on a Territory, there was nowhere any power, said Calhoun and his followers, to close it against slaves. To establish this as the rule of the constitution, in contradiction of all belief and practice in the past, was henceforth the fixed purpose of the pro-slavery extremists of the south; while the opposing determination grew steadily at the north.

Discoveries of gold in California, made in 1848, sharpened the issue, by causing an instant rush of gold-seekers

The question of slavery in the new domain

Holst, *Constitutional and Political History of the U. S.*, 3: ch. x-xiv

The "Wilmot proviso"

Slavery excluded from Oregon, 1848

New pro-slavery doctrine

Power to exclude slavery denied

Gold discoveries in California, 1848

The Mor-
mons in
Utah, 1847

Their mi-
grations,
1830-1847

"Free soil"
movement,
1848

Zachary
Taylor,
president,
1849-1850

The Cali-
fornia ques-
tion

to the Pacific coast, filling the country with a population that had no use or desire for slaves. At the same time new conceptions of the future importance of that Cordilleran and trans-Cordilleran section of the continent were rising in the public mind. Stories of the happy home that the Mormons had found, in the heart of the mountains beyond the Rockies, were beginning to be heard. That strange sect of the followers of Joseph Smith, gathered first in a small number at Palmyra, New York, in 1830, and, driven by persecution to successive settlements, in Ohio, in Missouri, in Illinois, always increasing, had escaped at last, in 1847, to the sheltering valley of the Great Salt Lake and peopled it with 17,000 souls. They were the pioneers of a new movement of westward advance, the premonition of which was giving an added significance to the question of the "Wilmot proviso" when that question came into the presidential canvass of 1848.

The old political parties, Democratic and Whig, feared the issue, and tried to evade it by taking no declared ground. Large numbers, in consequence, seceded from both parties at the north, and attempted an anti-slavery coalition, with imperfect success. The fruit of their undertaking was a "free soil convention," held at Buffalo, which nominated Martin Van Buren for president, so much to the dissatisfaction of the anti-slavery Whigs that few of them gave him their votes. Van Buren, however, drew heavily from the Democratic vote, especially in New York, causing the defeat of the Democratic candidate, General Cass, and the election of General Zachary Taylor, the Whig nominee.

When President Taylor entered office, in the spring of 1849, California had become populous enough already to be claiming statehood, and its people were ready to put an end to the question of slavery within their own limits by voting it down. With encouragement from the president, they adopted a free State constitution and applied for admission to the Union. The pro-slavery radicals had no longer any hope of making California a slave State, but they exacted a heavy price for allowing it to be free. They (1) demanded the establishment of slavery in all the remainder of the territory acquired from Mexico; (2)

the surrender of a large part of New Mexico to Texas; (3) a new law, more efficient than the old one (of 1793), for the execution of that mandate of the constitution which declares that persons "held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, . . . shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Anti-slavery radicals, on the other hand, were demanding, (1) the Wilmot proviso applied to all present and future Territories; (2) the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; (3) the prohibition of all inter-State traffic in slaves. Between the two, the heat of passion became intense, and gave rise to such alarm that a majority in congress was induced at last to compromise the matters in dispute. Mainly inspired by Henry Clay, "the great compromiser," as he was styled, five measures were adopted, (1) establishing territorial governments in Utah and New Mexico with no reference to slavery, (2) admitting California as a free State, (3) giving Texas \$10,000,000 for her New Mexico claim, (4) substituting a new "fugitive slave law" for that of 1793, and (5) abolishing the slave trade, but not slavery, in the District of Columbia. This "Compromise of 1850" was not favored by President Taylor; but he died on the 9th of July, that year, while the five enactments were pending, and Vice-President Millard Fillmore, who then became president, gave his signature to them all.

One measure of the compromise, the fugitive slave law, destroyed every pacifying effect which the other enactments might possibly have produced. It went needlessly beyond the requirements of the constitution, violating the principles of just law, by providing no safeguard for the claimed fugitive against perjury and fraud. "Every case that occurred under it—every surrender of a claimed fugitive—did more than the Abolitionists had ever done to convert northern people to some part, at least, of abolitionist beliefs. Senator Seward, in a senate debate on the compromise measures, had made a casual allusion to 'a higher law than the constitution,' and the phrase was caught up. To obstruct, resist, frustrate, the execution of the statute came to be looked upon by many people as

Art. iv,
sect. ii,
clause 3

The compromise measures of 1850

Schurz, *Life of Henry Clay*, 2: ch. xxvi

Death of President Taylor

Millard Fillmore, president, 1850-1853

The fugitive slave law

Rhodes, *History of the U. S. from 1850*, 1: 185-383

The "higher law" view

"Personal
liberty laws"

The "under-
ground rail-
road"

Mrs. Stowe's
story of
*Uncle Tom's
Cabin*

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.,*
455-6

Presidential
election of
1852

Franklin
Pierce,
president,
1853-1857

a duty dictated by the 'higher law' of moral right. Legislatures were moved to enact obstructive 'personal liberty laws'; and quiet citizens were moved to riotous acts. Active undertakings to encourage and assist the escape of slaves from southern States were set on foot, and a remarkable organization of helping hands was formed, in what took the name of the 'underground railroad,' to secrete them and pass them on to the safe shelter of Canadian law. The slaveholders lost thousands of their servants for every one that the law restored to their hands.

"The story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, may fairly be counted among the products of the fugitive slave law, and no other book ever produced an extraordinary effect so quickly on the public mind. In book form it was published in March, 1852, and it was read everywhere in civilized countries within the next two or three years. Its picture of slavery was stamped ineffaceably on the thought of the whole world, and the institution was arraigned upon it, for a more impressive judgment than Christendom had ever pronounced before. That the picture was not a true one of the general and common circumstances of southern slavery, but that the incidents put together in the story were all possible, has been proved beyond doubt."

Undoubtedly, in 1852, when another presidential election came round, there were deeper and stronger feelings against slavery than there had been four years before; but they lacked the means of organization to make themselves felt. The "free soil" experiment of 1848 had been discouraging and was but feebly renewed. Both of the old parties went into the canvass pledged to uphold the measures of the compromise, and the only vigor in the contest was where pro-slavery feeling stirred it up. That was done with more favor to the Democratic party than to the Whig, and Franklin Pierce, the Democratic candidate, was made president by a large vote. He was a northern man, fully in accord with the southern section of his party, and fully prepared to administer the government according to pro-slavery views. The ease with which he had been elected seemed to indicate an unlimited submission to those views in the north; and seemed also

to mark very plainly the successful course for political ambition to take. This may, perhaps, account for the audacity with which the compact of the Missouri Compromise, sanctioned and trusted for a generation, was broken and brushed aside in the second year of President Pierce's term. To Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois and chairman of the senate committee on Territories, came a discovery that the compromise legislation of 1850, in its dealing with New Mexico, had committed the government to a new principle of policy in the matter, namely, "that all questions pertaining to slavery in the Territories and the new States to be formed therefrom are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein." Calhoun and his radical disciples, who acknowledged no right anywhere to decide those questions for any region before its people had become endowed with the sovereignty of a State, derided this new doctrine of "popular sovereignty," as Douglas named it,—"*squatter sovereignty*," as Calhoun branded it with eloquent scorn. Nevertheless, the Douglas proposition was accepted by the slaveholding interest, as a means of carrying slavery into the rich regions beyond Missouri from which it had been barred. All that remained unorganized of the Louisiana Purchase, including the present States of Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas, with parts of Colorado, Wyoming and Montana, was divided between two Territories, named Kansas and Nebraska, by an organizing act which repealed the legislation of 1820, and provided that States formed hereafter from these Territories should be "received into the Union with or without slavery, as their constitutions may prescribe."

This Kansas-Nebraska bill was revolutionary in its effect upon the political parties of the day. Legions of men were driven by it from the Democratic party, while northern and southern Whigs parted company so entirely that their national organization came to an end. Out of both secessions, by a spontaneous popular movement which the old party leaders could only fall in with, arose the new Republican party, pledged to resist the further spread of slavery, but not to interfere with its existing establishment in any State. Another party movement,

Senator
Stephen A.
Douglas

Brown,
*Stephen A.
Douglas*

His doctrine
of "*popular
sovereignty*"

**The Kansas-
Nebraska
bill, repeal-
ing the Mis-
souri Com-
promise, 1854**

Nicolay and
Hay, *Abra-
ham Lin-
coln*, 1: ch.
xix

Rise of the
Republican
party

The American or Know Nothing party

The strife for Kansas, 1855-1856

Assault on Senator Sumner, 1856

Presidential election of 1856

James Buchanan, president, 1857-1861

Rhodes, *History of the U. S. from 1850*, 2-3: ch. ix-xiv

The Dred Scott decision, March 6, 1857

styled the American or "Know Nothing," started in 1852, originally in the form of a secret organization of native Americans against foreign-born citizens, maintained some rivalry with that of the Republicans until 1856, when it disappeared. Only one political feeling could be kept alive, in that period of excitements caused by a fierce struggle in Kansas, where the first decision, for or against slavery, by choice of the settlers, was about to be made. For nearly two years Kansas was the scene of what came to be nothing less than a state of civil war. There were barbarities and atrocities on both sides of the desperate contest; but three governors of the Territory, sent to it with pro-slavery sympathies, bore testimony to the fact that a large majority of the actual settlers in the country were striving against armed bodies of invaders from the neighboring slave States, and were overborne at the Territorial elections by violence and fraud.

More passion than the Kansas struggle had wakened was stirred up in May, 1856, by an almost fatal assault on Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, by one of the congressmen from South Carolina, in retaliation for a violent speech. Yet, with all that was working to stimulate the anti-slavery feeling of the north, it failed to command success in the presidential election of that year. Colonel John C. Frémont, the chosen candidate of the Republicans, received more than a hundred thousand northern votes above those of James Buchanan, the Democratic nominee; but he had almost no vote in the south. Buchanan carried only five free States, but those, with all the slave States except Maryland, gave him a majority of the electoral votes. The vote of Maryland was given to Millard Fillmore, nominated by the American party and by a remnant of Whigs.

The opening of the new administration was signaled by a crowning triumph for what could be described with strict accuracy as "the slave power." Two days after President Buchanan's inauguration the Supreme Court of the United States, pronouncing a judgment in the case of a slave named Dred Scott, was afforded an opportunity to decide that "no word can be found in the constitution which gives greater power over slave property than prop-

erty of any other description"; for which reason the compromise enactment of 1820 "is not warranted by the constitution and is therefor void." So Calhoun's doctrine of the constitutional status of slave property was affirmed beyond appeal, and slaves could be carried anywhere within the Territories of the United States. (See p. 380)

And now it seemed possible to the administration at Washington to complete the fettering of Kansas with the constitution of a slave State. The constitution (known as the Lecompton constitution) was prepared by a small minority of the people of the Territory; but the majority had the promise of an honest governor, Robert J. Walker, authorized by President Buchanan to make it, that they should be given a fair opportunity to reject or adopt it as they saw fit. The promise was flagrantly broken, by a cheating contrivance which the president countenanced and the governor denounced. Governor Walker, who resigned his office in disgust, was joined in his denunciations by Senator Douglas, author of the act under which the Kansas struggle had occurred. The Democratic party was broken by a great revolt, in which Douglas took the lead. Congress defeated the attempted fraud, sending the "Lecompton constitution," so-called, back to the Kansas people, who rejected it by a vote of about seven to one.

Douglas was now at odds with the southern leaders and masters of his party, but sustained by a large majority of the Democrats of the north. His senatorial term was about to expire, and the question of his reelection, to be decided in the election of the legislature of Illinois, excited the lively interest of the whole country in 1858. It was then that Abraham Lincoln, little known hitherto outside of his own State, was revealed to the nation at large. Chosen by the Republicans to contest the senatorial election with Douglas, he met the latter in a series of debates, which disclosed the remarkable powers of his mind. Douglas won the election, but Lincoln had gained an eminence among the leaders of his party which made him their candidate for president two years later, and opened his advance to an immortality of fame.

Before the occurrence of the presidential election of 1860 sectional hostilities in the Union were inflamed

The Lecompton constitution forced on Kansas

Political revolt led by Senator Douglas

Senatorial election in Illinois

Douglas and Lincoln debate, 1858

Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, ch. viii-ix

John
Brown's in-
vasion of
Virginia,
1859

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850,*
2:384-416

Disunion-
ism in the
south

Disruption
of the Demo-
cratic party

Election of
Abraham
Lincoln,
president,
Nov., 1860

afresh by the mad attempt of John Brown, at Harper's Ferry (October 16, 1859), to enter Virginia with a small armed force and incite an insurrection of slaves. Brown was easily overcome, most of his followers were slain, and he himself was captured, tried for treason and murder, condemned, and hanged; but his undertaking had widened the breach between north and south. A fiery disunionism became rampant in the slaveholding States, and its leading spirits began to prepare, not only for revolt in the event of the election of a Republican president, but for a breaking of the political forces opposed to that election, in order to make it sure. Plainly by their intention and contrivance, the Democratic party was split in twain, and brought two candidates into the field,—Stephen A. Douglas, supported mainly by the Democracy of the north, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, sustained chiefly in the south. Lingered adherents of the Whig and American parties named John Bell, of Tennessee, for president; and against these three opponents stood Abraham Lincoln, representing that mass of the people who had resolved that the further spreading and rooting of slavery should be stopped. By half a million votes over Douglas, by a million over Breckenridge, by a million and a quarter over Bell, Lincoln was chosen president, carrying every free State, save one, and even that (New Jersey), in part.

British America

(See p. 383)

Greswell,
*History of
the Dominion
of
Canada,*
ch. xvi

Rebellions
in Upper
and Lower
Canada,
1837-1838

Different as the causes of disaffection were in the two provinces of Canada, they gave encouragement to each other, and came to a head of positive rebellion at about the same time. The outbreak in Lower Canada found its leader in Louis J. Papineau, a man of excellent character, gifted with much eloquence, but wanting evidently in judgment, and not fitted for success in the revolutionary part that he played. In Upper Canada the most active promoter of the rising that occurred was William Lyon Mackenzie, who had conducted a journal in opposition to the government and the "family compact" for some years. In neither province was any efficiency displayed in the conduct of the revolutionary movement, and not much energy on the part of the authorities was required for

scattering its ill-planned combinations and bringing it to an end. Both Papineau and Mackenzie escaped to the United States, where the latter found sympathizers, who joined him in seizing a small island in the Niagara River, from which to maintain, for some time, a futile continuation of what was known as the Patriot War. The neglect of the American government to prevent violations of its neutrality in this proceeding, and an audacious raid made from Canada to the American shore, for the purpose of destroying a small steamer which the rebels used, led to quite serious complications between Great Britain and the United States. Large numbers of the insurgents in both provinces were captured, and not a few were hanged, while others were transported to the convict settlement in Tasmania, known then as Van Dieman's Land. More passion than justice went into these punishments, and, after the passion cooled, even Papineau and Mackenzie were allowed to return, even to seats in the Canadian assembly.

The Patriot
War

Burning of
the *Caroline*

The rebellions were not failures, for they woke the British government to a recognition of the reality of the grievances out of which they sprang. An able statesman, Lord Durham, was sent out as governor and high commissioner, to investigate the situation and plan needed reforms. On his report, by an imperial act passed in 1840, the two provinces were reunited in one, with equal representation in a legislature composed of two bodies,—a lower house elected by the people and an upper house appointed by the crown. This was the organization of government in Canada till 1867. There and in the maritime provinces a period of much prosperity ensued, and the British-American population increased from a million and a half in 1840 to three millions and a quarter in 1861.

Reunion of
the Canadas,
1840

Prosperity

Australia and New Zealand

A Swan River convict settlement, founded in 1826, in the southwestern corner of Australia, was proclaimed a colony three years later, becoming the nucleus of the present colony of Western Australia. The colonizing of South Australia, on the western side of New South Wales, was undertaken in 1836 by an association, formed

Western
Australia

South Aus-
tralia

in compliance with an act of the British parliament passed two years before. The colony had a struggle for existence till the great copper and gold discoveries of 1845 and 1851 were made.

About 1836 the fine country surrounding the great bay called Port Philip began to receive settlers, and a town-site selected on the bay was named Melbourne, in honor of the English premier of that time. Until 1851 the Port Philip colony was a dependency of New South Wales. By that time it had grown to a population of 76,000, had acquired the wealth of millions of sheep, and was just beginning to discover that its mountains held rich stores of gold. With authority from the British parliament, it was parted then from the parent colony, received the queen's name, Victoria, and entered upon a separate colonial career. The discoveries of gold brought immigration in a flood. In 1859, another portion of New South Wales, called the Moreton Bay district, was taken to form another separate colony, bearing the name of Queensland, and having Brisbane for its capital; there, too, gold was found at a later day, and the colony has much other mineral wealth.

In 1852, each of the Australian colonies was authorized and invited by the imperial government to frame a constitution for itself.

The colonial history of New Zealand begins in 1840, when the British government appointed a consul, Captain Hobson, for official supervision of a settlement on the northern island, which a land company had been formed in England to undertake. Captain Hobson was successful in arranging a treaty with the natives—the Maoris—by which they acknowledged the sovereignty of the British queen, and were guaranteed, in return, the possession of their lands, except as they might be willing to sell the same, the crown to have a right of preëmption over all lands thus offered for sale. Notwithstanding this apparently fair and perfect settlement of the land question at the beginning, conflicts between the settlers and the Maoris began early and continued for many years, till the native race—one of remarkably strong and fine qualities—had exhausted its strength. The first settlement, seated at

Melbourne,
1836

Discovery of
gold, 1851

Victoria,
1851

Queensland,
1859

First colo-
nization of
New
Zealand,
1840

Treaty with
the Maoris

Conflicts

Wellington, was chartered as a colony in 1840, with Captain Hobson for governor. Others followed, on both islands, and assumed, in the course of a dozen years, enough importance to claim and receive a colonial constitution, which gave representation to the inhabitants in one branch of a legislature, composed in the other branch of a legislative council appointed by the crown. By this time the rapid spread and growing strength of the English had roused the natives, and started a movement among them which aimed at some national organization of their tribes, under a king, for the purpose of stopping all further sale of lands to the whites, and all further extension of roads. This "king movement," as it was called, led to a long and destructive Maori war.

Colonial
constitution,
1852

The "king
movement":
and Maori
war

India and Afghanistan

Each extension of the dominions of the East India Company involved it in fresh difficulties with new neighbors, and tempted it to new conquests. With its northward advance, moreover, came suspicions of a distant hostile influence from St. Petersburg, working in Persia and Afghanistan, and looking to future Russian movements from the Caspian Sea. Such suspicions were at the bottom of an appalling disaster to the British arms, brought about in 1839 by the folly of the governor-general of India, Lord Auckland, who sent an incapable general, with an inadequate army, into Afghanistan, to interfere in a dispute between two rivals for the throne. Surprised and besieged helplessly in Cabul, the unfortunate army, accompanied by many women and children, obtained a treacherous permission to retreat; but in one of the mountain passes, where almost no resistance could be made, it was waylaid and overwhelmed. One man only, of more than 15,000, escaped by chance to tell the horrible tale. Of course there was a vigorous and prompt chastisement of the Afghans, but what could that repair?

Suspicion
of Russian
designs

Tragedy of
the first
Afghan war,
1839

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*,
1: ch. xi

The Afghan war led to the subjugation of the amirs of Scinde, who had taken advantage of the disturbance to break some engagements of a treaty lately signed. This was followed by a war of four years with the formidable Sikhs of the Punjab,—a religious sect forming a nation,—

Conquest of
Scinde, 1843

Subjugation
of the Sikhs
and the Pun-
jab, 1845-
1849

Annexation
of Oudh,
1856

Ill-feeling
among na-
tives

The sepoy
mutiny,
1857-1858

Hunter,
*Brief His-
tory of the
Indian
People*,
ch. xv

Massacres at
Delhi and
Cawnpore

Relief of
Lucknow

Storming of
Delhi

Smith, *Life
of Lord
Lawrence*,
2: ch. v

ending in the subjection of that people to British rule. In 1852 a second Burmese war resulted in the acquisition of Pegu. In 1856 the important province of Oudh, misgoverned hitherto by a native king, under British protection, was annexed to the company's dominions by a simple mandate of the governor-general, and the king deposed.

These conquests and annexations, especially that of Oudh, were productive of ill-feeling among the natives; who had no relish, moreover, for the railroads, the telegraphs, and other European innovations then beginning to work startling changes among them, in all the conditions of life. A suspicious and resentful state of mind became prevalent, especially among the native troops—the sepoys—which some cause of excitement might easily raise to a dangerous pitch. The cause of excitement was supplied in the spring of 1857, by a rumor among the sepoys that their cartridges were greased with the fat of pigs, which both Hindus and Mohammedans abhor as unclean. An outbreak of mutiny was the consequence, beginning on the 9th of May at the station of Meerut, about forty miles northeast of Delhi, and spreading thence among the native troops, but never becoming a rebellion of the people at large.

Some of the officers first surprised by the outbreak dealt weakly with it, and the mutineers were allowed to get possession of Delhi and Cawnpore, and to commit horrible massacres, there and in other places; but instantly, almost, there sprang to the front of the English a wonderful body of heroic leaders, such as the Lawrences, John and Henry, John Nicholson, Henry Havelock, Colin Campbell, Governor-General Lord Canning, and many more, who showed what it is in the Anglo-Saxon race that gives it rule. Besieged Lucknow was relieved on the 25th of August, by Havelock, who fought his way to the despairing city, victor in twelve battles on the march, and held it till Sir Colin Campbell could come with forces strong enough to protect the whole body of the British residents in a necessary retreat. In September, Delhi was retaken by storm, at the cost of many lives, including that of the brave General Nicholson, who led the first column in the attack. After this decisive blow the suppression

of the revolt was but a question of months, and the whole country was restored to order in the summer of 1858. The government of British India was then taken from the company that had ruled it so long and transferred entirely to the crown.

End of the
East India
Company's
rule

China

China had its first experience of war with a European power in 1840, and its first rude awakening to the fact that it must trade with the "barbarians," as it deemed them, on the Atlantic side of the world, whether willing or not. The war was a shameful one to England, after every just allowance is made for provocations that she received from the overbearing insolence of the Chinese officials with whom her representatives had to deal. It had its origin in attempts on the part of the Chinese government to suppress the use of opium, by which great masses of people in the empire were being dreadfully debased. The main production of the drug was in India, whence it was smuggled into China through the channels of foreign trade at Canton, which the government at Peking had been tolerating for a long time past, in an always contemptuous way. Its officials at Canton were accessories to the smuggling, till 1839, when the port came under the authority of one named Lin, who would not shut his eyes, as his predecessors had done. He did his duty, no doubt, with inflexible determination to put an end to the unlawful importation of an abominable drug; but he did it so insultingly and violently that much excuse was afforded for the hostilities that ensued. The war, in fact, was more shameful in the ending than in the beginning; for the Chinese were forced at last to obtain peace by consenting to pay six millions of dollars for opium destroyed, in addition to a large indemnity for British expenditures in the war. Moreover, they were compelled to open five ports, namely, Canton, Amoy, Fuchau, Ningpo, and Shanghai—known afterward as the "treaty ports"—to British residence and trade, besides ceding to Great Britain the island of Hong Kong, near the mouth of the Canton River. The war, branded as "the Opium War," was denounced with great bitterness in England by such righteous-minded statesmen as Cobden and Bright.

The Opium
War, 1840-
1842

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*,
I : ch. viii

Lin

Opening of
the "treaty
ports," 1842

Cession of
Hong Kong

Second war
with Eng-
land, 1856-
1860

McCarthy,
*History of
Our Own
Times*, 3: ch.
xxx and xlii

Canton
bombarded

Feeling in
England

Treaty of
Tien-tsin,
June, 1858

1860

Burning of
the winter
palace at
Peking

Since the day that China was forced, by the "Opium War," to open relations with the western powers, she has suffered much bullying, many shameful extortions, and some barbarous blows at their hands. One of the worst of the assaults upon her was made, again by Great Britain, in 1856, and for no decently justifiable cause. Her officials at Canton had arrested twelve men—their own countrymen—charged with piracy, and taken them from a small vessel called a "lorcha," which they claimed to be a Chinese piratical craft. Their claim is said to have been proved true in the end; but the owners of the lorcha had obtained by false pretenses the temporary possession of a British flag, and the Chinese police were held to have violated the shelter of the flag. A British consul, backed by a British minister, demanded an apology, as well as the surrender of the men. The men were given up, but the apology was refused; whereupon Canton was bombarded by a British fleet, and war begun.

The better feeling of England was outraged by these proceedings; but, when parliament pronounced censure on them, Palmerston, the premier of the day, dissolved it, appealing to the country, and was returned to power by an overwhelming vote. So the war went on, and France joined in it, having some claims of indemnity to enforce. Canton was taken, and China was humbled to the signing of a treaty which promised payment of the expenses of the war. But this did not end the matter. Envoys sent to Peking to exchange ratifications were hindered in their journey, and attempted to force their way, but without success. Then England and France, in a fresh burst of rage, sent forces which broke through all resistance, made their way to Peking and entered its gates. On their march, some members of the staff of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, the envoys who accompanied and directed the expedition, were captured treacherously and foully treated by the Chinese. In punishment or retaliation it was ordered by the envoys that the great and splendid winter palace at Peking, filled with treasures of Chinese art, should be burned; and this was done,—a deed worthy of Alaric the Goth. But the treaty now wrung from the emperor provided that Europeans should no longer be styled "barbari-

ans" in the documents of his government, and the envoys, with that certificate of their civilization, came home well content.

This was not the only trouble of the Chinese government in these years. It was struggling with the most formidable rebellion that the Manchu dynasty had known. One Hung Siu-tseuen, who seems to have had a smattering of Christian teaching from a missionary,—enough to give him a pretense of being religiously inspired,—set the revolt on foot in 1850, and was soon the leader of a barbaric horde which carried terror and destruction wherever it went. The city of Nanking was taken in 1853, and became the capital of this Tai-ping rebellion, as foreigners understood it to be named. The Chinese soldiery, under Chinese commanders, could make no headway against it; but a force raised at Shanghai, and led first by an American named Ward, came finally under the command of an English officer, Colonel Charles George Gordon (called "Chinese Gordon" in after years), who made himself famous by his success. He finished the suppression of the rebellion in 1864.

The Tai-ping
rebellion,
1850-1864

"Chinese
Gordon"

Japan

The long isolation of Japan was ended in 1854, as the result of a friendly overture from the government of the United States, conveyed to the court at Yedo by a naval squadron, Commodore Perry in command. The recent extension of American territory to the Pacific, the rapid growth of communities on its coast that were eager for Asiatic trade, and the extent of American whale hunting in the seas near Japan, were incentives to the undertaking. Its special object was to obtain admission to Japanese ports, for supplies and for shelter, as well as for trade. Commodore Perry entered the Bay of Yedo, with an imposing squadron, in July, 1853, made known his desire to present a letter to the emperor from the president of the United States, and declined to be ordered away by local officials, or to confer personally with other officials than such as would represent the sovereign of Japan. By judicious firmness he carried his point. The president's letter, in a rich casket of gold, was received ceremoniously by commissioners whom the shogun appointed, and the

The Perry
expedition
from the
United States,
1853-1854

Griffis,
*Matthew
Calbraith
Perry*, ch.
xxvii- xxxiii

Commodore
Perry at
Yedo

The treaty
secured, 1854

commodore departed for China, announcing that he would return some months later for the expected reply. His return was in the following February, and some months of negotiation then resulted in the signing of a treaty which broke the seal of seclusion that Japan had remained under for two centuries and a half. It declared friendship between the two countries; opened two ports to American ships, for shelter from stress of weather, for procuring supplies, for certain privileges of trade, subject to local regulations, and for resident American consuls. England made haste to obtain a similar treaty, the same year, and other nations followed, so that nearly all commercial countries were soon in possession of keys to the long-locked gates of Japan. A broader and more definite commercial treaty with the United States was secured, though with difficulty, in 1858, by Mr. Townsend Harris, who went as consul-general to Japan in 1856, and acquired great influence there.

Consul-
General
Harris

Opposition
in the empire

The shogun-
ate threat-
ened

But this revolution in the policy of Japan was not accomplished without a bitter struggle in the empire between a party who favored it and a party opposed. The latter party, hostile to foreigners and foreign intercourse, disputed the authority of the shogun, by whom the treaties had been conceded, and began a vigorous assertion of the sovereignty of the mikado, aiming at the restoration of that secluded monarch to a seat of actual power. For some years, the few foreign visitors and residents who ventured into the empire were endangered by the prevalent feeling, and several murders and outrages occurred. It seemed that the continuance of Japan in the new line of intercourse with America and Europe must depend upon the continued rule of the shoguns, and that the shogunate was doomed to a speedy fall. Yet the shogunate fell, and the relations of Japan with the western world, as we shall see, became closer than before.

Africa

The emancipation of slaves, decreed by parliament for the whole British empire in 1833, was resented bitterly by the Dutch in Cape Colony, and so increased their discontent with British rule that a large body of them

migrated, or "trekked," as their own language expressed it, to a region in the South African wilderness which they supposed to be outside the bounds of British law. It was a district on the eastern coast which Vasco da Gama had called Natal, and they kept the name. There they undertook to found a republic of their own; but the English claim stretched over their new land, and they "trekked" again, to the neighboring district known afterward as the Orange Free State. That, too, Great Britain claimed rights in, and once more a considerable party of these obstinate Dutch farmers (called "boers" in their own language) moved farther into the wilderness, across the Vaal River, and took possession of the territory in which the Transvaal or South African Republic grew up. To that retreat they were not pursued; and the claims of the British government were so much relaxed that, in 1854, it conceded independence to the Orange Free State.

Meantime, the active exploration of Central and South Africa was begun. The first missionary journey of Dr. Livingstone was made in 1849. In 1851 he discovered the Zambesi; between 1853 and 1856 he crossed the continent from the Zambesi to the western coast, and then returned, to explore the river to its mouth, discovering the Victoria Falls on the way. Burton and Speke explored the Somali country in 1854, and found Lake Tanganyika in 1857. Speke's discovery of Lake Victoria Nyanza was made in 1858. Other missionaries, explorers and hunters were searching the depths of the dark continent in almost every part.

The trekking
of Cape
Colony
Dutch, 1833

To Natal,
1833

To Orange
Free State,
1843

To the
Transvaal,
1848

Explorations
of Dr. Liv-
ingstone,
1849-1856

CHAPTER XXII

FROM THE ELECTION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, TO BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

(1860 TO 1871)

The United States of America: Secession and confederation of slaveholding States.—Opening of civil war.—Blockade of Confederate ports.—Battle of Bull Run.—The “Monitor” and the “Merrimac.”—Grant’s first successes.—McClellan’s peninsular campaign.—Rising fame of the Confederate generals Lee and Jackson.—Farragut’s capture of New Orleans.—Lee’s first invasion of Maryland.—President Lincoln’s proclamation of emancipation.—Dark period of national reverses.—Political opposition in the north.—Outfit of Confederate cruisers in England.—Lee’s second movement northward.—Gettysburg.—Vicksburg.—Grant’s Chattanooga campaign.—Lincoln’s amnesty and plan of reconstruction.—Grant’s campaign against Richmond.—Reëlection of Lincoln.—Sherman’s march to the sea.—Crumbling and fall of the Confederacy.—End of the war.—Murder of President Lincoln.—Presidency of Andrew Johnson.—His rupture with congress.—Congressional measures of reconstruction and their results.—Period of demoralizations.—Presidency of General Grant.—Settlement of “Alabama” claims. *Events in Europe:* Unification of Italy.—Austro-Prussian and Franco-German wars.—Unification of Germany in a federal empire.—Federation of Austria-Hungary.—Birth of the third French republic.—Disraeli and Gladstone ministries in Great Britain.—Irish Fenianism.—Revolution in Spain.—Emancipation in Russia.—Russians in Central Asia. *British America:* Confederation of the Dominion of Canada. *Mexico:* French conquest.—Maximilian’s empire and its fall. *Egypt:* Ismail Pasha, khedive.—The Suez canal.—*Japan:* Fall of the shogunate.—End of feudalism and the daimiates.

Civil War and Reconstruction in the United States

In no other part of the world, at the opening of this period, were the passing events of such moment as those then occurring in the United States. The election of President Lincoln was followed by rebellious action in South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. Within three months, those seven States had adopted ordinances professing to dissolve their

Secession of
seven slave-
holding
States

relations with other States in the union of 1788, "under the compact entitled the constitution of the United States"; had leagued themselves as the Confederate States of America; had organized a separate general government, with Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, at its head; had seized most of the forts, arsenals, arms, and other property of the federal government, and had silenced its authority within their bounds. For two months their proceedings were disturbed by no interference from Washington. President Buchanan, in a message to congress, lamented the course taken by the seceding States, questioned their right to leave the Union, but decided that he had no constitutional authority to resist their acts. He and his administration were controlled by leaders of the secession movement, until the exigencies of their undertaking called them home. Then, for the few remaining weeks of President Buchanan's term, loyal influences prevailed, and the submissive attitude of the government was changed.

But on that 4th day of March, 1861, when Abraham Lincoln brought the strength of his wisdom, his courage, his patience, his faith, to replace the feebleness of his predecessor, the situation was one to appall the stoutest heart. In all history no man ever faced a more formidable task; and no human performance has ever surpassed his accomplishment of that task. From the first hour of his responsibility, his words and his measures were all masterly, in prudent and skillful direction to the end that no rational or plausible ground should be left for rebellion to uphold itself upon. Neither yielding any jot of the authority confided to his office, nor challenging resistance to it, he brought affairs to a position in which the undertaking of secession could not be carried forward without an aggressive act of war. The result was the bombardment of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, which a faithful officer of the United States had refused to give up to the authorities of South Carolina or to those of the rebelliously organized Confederate States. By that reckless act of violence the secessionists ruined their cause from the beginning. It roused a tempest of feeling in the north, sweeping away all party differences for the time, uniting

Organization
of the Con-
federate
States of
America

Attitude of
President
Buchanan

Abraham
Lincoln,
president,
1861-1865

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
vol. 2,
and after

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850*,
vols. 3-4

Bombard-
ment of Fort
Sumter, April
12-13, 1861

Effect in
the north

the free States in support of the government, and ranging with them a controlling majority in the border slave States.

The attack on Fort Sumter was a decisive appeal to arms, and was met at once by proclamations from the president, calling for 75,000 of the militia of the States, to suppress combinations against the laws of the United States, "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings," and declaring a blockade of the ports of the seceded States. The call for militia was followed a fortnight after by another proclamation which directed the enlistment of a force of volunteers.

Effect in the south

These measures changed the attitude of large numbers of southern people, who had been in opposition to the movement of disunion, but believed in secession as a constitutional "State right," and who objected less to the breaking of the Union than to the "coercing of a sovereign State."

Secession of four more states, April-May, 1861

Forced now to choose between arming for the preservation of the Union and arming for its destruction, such people went over to the secessionists in a body, and joined in adding Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee to the rebellious league. The same disposition of mind was strong enough in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, to struggle hard against the Union sentiment in those States; but the latter, nourished and encouraged by the wise patience of President Lincoln, prevailed in the end. In the mountain regions of West Virginia and East Tennessee, where slaveholding was never extensive, the Unionists outnumbered the secessionists, but were overborne by disunion majorities in other parts of those States. The first important operations of war were undertaken in West Virginia, by General George B. McClellan, with results which enabled the Unionists to organize what assumed to be the lawful government of Virginia, leading finally to the formation of a separate State.

McClellan in West Virginia, May-July, 1861

While this was being done, and while the secessionists in Missouri, who controlled its State government at the outset, were being overthrown by military force, large bodies of troops were assembled by both belligerents, mainly on and near the Potomac, to threaten the national capital on one side and defend it on the other. By the

middle of July, the Union forces near Washington numbered 50,000, or more, and the country clamored for a movement “on to Richmond,” not at all understanding how much more of discipline and organization this raw army needed to make it fit for so serious a campaign. The cry was yielded to, however, and General Irwin McDowell, with some 30,000 men, moved forward, encountering the Confederates, under Generals Beauregard and Joseph Johnston, at the little stream called Bull Run, on the 21st of July. McDowell’s plans for the movement were frustrated by the failure of the general who commanded the remaining 20,000 men to coöperate as expected, and the result was a defeat, which inexperience in the ranks converted into a rout.

“On to Richmond” cry

Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861

Paris, *History of the Civil War*, 1: 225-256

The lesson taught by this disaster was taken to heart so profoundly by the next commander of the Union Army of the Potomac, General McClellan, that he kept it inactive for eight months, while he trained its officers and drilled their men. Admirable as a military organizer, he lacked the needed confidence for campaigning, and never found himself quite in readiness for the field.

McClellan and the Army of the Potomac, Aug., 1861-April, 1862

Meantime, the navy was doing the most important work of the war, blockading the southern ports and coöperating with military expeditions which captured and held important footings on the southern coast, at Hatteras Inlet, Port Royal, Roanoke Island and Newberne. By nearly stopping the exportation of their cotton and tobacco, and the importation of arms, munitions of war, railroad materials, and manufactures in general, which they had little ability to produce for themselves, the Confederates were crippled beyond measure by the blockade.

Blockade of southern ports

In March, 1862, naval warfare was revolutionized in a startling way, by the first battle ever fought between iron-clad ships. By covering an old wooden steam frigate, the *Merrimac*, with railway iron, the Confederates, at Norfolk, had constructed a clumsy craft, which they sent out against the blockading fleet in Hampton Roads. Her first attack was fatal to two wooden sailing vessels, which she sunk with ease; but when the monster returned the next morning, to finish her work, she found a new antagonist on the scene. This was the famous *Monitor*, the

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*, March 8-9, 1862

Ericsson

first of turreted ironclad battle ships, constructed on plans devised by John Ericsson, a Swedish-American engineer, and brought to Hampton Roads at exactly the opportune hour. Neither *Monitor* nor *Merrimac* was much injured in the encounter that followed, but the latter drew back from her small enemy and never did mischief again.

Grant and
Foote break
the Confed-
erate line,
Feb. 6-16,
1862

In the west as in the east, on the river lines as on the coast lines of the Confederacy, it was concerted action of naval and military forces that won the first successes of vital importance to the Union cause; and these were not accomplished till late in the winter and early in the spring of 1862. General Grant, with an army, and Commodore Foote, with a fleet of small gunboats, moving up the Tennessee and the Cumberland, in February, captured Forts Henry and Donelson, with a large garrison in the latter, and so broke the Confederate line of defense. This opened the whole of western Tennessee to a general advance, and to a restoration of federal authority in that part of the State. In April the ground won was secured by a bloody battle, fought for two days at Pittsburg Landing, near Shiloh, close to the southern boundary of Tennessee. At this time Commodore Foote was giving assistance to General John Pope, in operations on the Mississippi, which resulted in the capture of strong fortifications at New Madrid and Island No. 10, and freeing the navigation of the great river for a long distance to the south.

Battle of
Shiloh, April
6-7, 1862

New Mad-
rid and
Island No.
10, March
13-April 7,
1862

McClellan's
peninsular
campaign,
April-June,
1862

*Battles and
Leaders of
the Civil
War*, vol. 2

At the beginning of April, the greater part of the grand Army of the Potomac was moved by General McClellan to the foot of the peninsula between the York and James Rivers, for an advance thence to Richmond, the capital of the southern Confederacy. Seven sanguinary battles were fought in the campaign of three months which ensued,—at Williamsburg, Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mill, Savage Station, Glendale, and Malvern Hill. The last five of these, known collectively as "the Seven Days Battles," were incident to a retreat of the Union army from its position near Richmond, on the Chickahominy, and from its communications with York River, to a defensive stand on the James. The campaign against Richmond had failed.

In the battle of Fair Oaks, General Joseph E. Johnston, hitherto commanding the Confederate forces in Virginia, was disabled by a wound, and his place was taken by General Robert E. Lee, who rose then to the highest renown among the soldiers of the Confederacy. Closely second to Lee in eminence among the Confederate commanders rose Thomas J. Jackson ("Stonewall" Jackson), from about the same critical juncture of the war, when he stopped a movement of reinforcements to McClellan by a daring and skillful raid down the Shenandoah Valley.

News from the west in these months of the unfortunate peninsular campaign was more cheering. Admiral Farragut, with a fleet of wooden ships and gunboats, had passed the forts on the lower Mississippi, destroyed or captured an opposing fleet, and taken the city of New Orleans, which General Butler then entered and occupied, with 14,000 men. From New Orleans, Farragut ascended the Mississippi and secured control of the river as far as Vicksburg, the fortifications of which, on high bluffs, were impregnable to his guns. Fort Pillow and Memphis, on the upper reaches of the Mississippi, had been taken, and a Confederate river-fleet destroyed at the latter point. The Confederacy was losing steadily in its far western parts.

General Halleck, who had been in chief command of the Union forces at the west, was called now to a general command of the whole field of war, and General Pope, who had won a reputation for energy, was brought to Virginia, to undertake a new campaign there. By Halleck's order, against the remonstrances of McClellan, the Army of the Potomac was brought back from the peninsula to the vicinity of Washington, and into coöperation with Pope. The latter made vigorous preparations for a direct movement on Richmond; but he had no ability to cope with the strategy of Lee and the deadly force with which Jackson could strike the blows that Lee had planned. They bewildered him by their movements, reached the rear of his army, while McClellan's forces were coming in detachments from the James, broke his lines in a series of fights, one of which occurred on the Bull Run ground, and drove him back to Washington in a disorderly retreat.

May 31-June 1, 1862

General Robert E. Lee

Long, *Memoirs of Robert E. Lee*

"Stonewall" Jackson

Farragut's capture of New Orleans, April 24, 1862

Mahan, *The Gulf*, ch. iii

On the Mississippi

General Halleck

General Pope in Virginia, Aug., 1862

Second battle of Bull Run, Aug. 30, 1862

Lee in
Maryland

South
Mountain
and Antie-
tam, Sept.
14, 17, 1862

Bragg in
Kentucky

President
Lincoln's
proclama-
tion of eman-
cipation

Nicolay
and Hay,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
6: ch. vi,
viii, xix

Previous
treatment of
slavery

Compen-
sated eman-
cipation
urged by the
president

Lincoln,
Writings, 2:
129-138, 204-
207, 270-277

Abolition in
the District
of Columbia

Then, while excitement bordered on panic at the north, Lee led his army into Maryland. Command of all the forces that could be brought against him was given to McClellan, and that excellent organizer used them with a promptitude that he had not shown before. Moving from Washington on the 5th of September, in pursuit of Lee, he fought him on the 14th at South Mountain and on the 17th at Antietam, with enough success to bring the invasion to an end. Simultaneously with Lee's invasion of Maryland, or nearly so, the Confederate General Bragg advanced through Tennessee into Kentucky, threatening Louisville and Cincinnati, until checked by General Buell at Perryville and forced to retreat.

And now came that great war measure, the Proclamation of Emancipation,—that signature of Abraham Lincoln to a bit of writing which marked a new departure in the struggle for the Union and opened a new era in American history. So far, in the prosecution of the war, slavery, as such, had been untouched. Slaves of those in arms against the government had been dealt with like other property of an enemy, according to the rules of war. The earliest dictum on the subject was by General Butler, commanding at Fortress Monroe, who exacted an oath of allegiance to the United States from owners who claimed runaway slaves that had come within his lines. Slaves were contraband of war, he declared, and this ruling was approved at Washington. In July of the first year of the war, congress passed an act "to confiscate property used for insurrectionary purposes," including slaves. In March, of the next year, on the urgent recommendation of the president, it offered "pecuniary aid to any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery," and Mr. Lincoln strove hard to persuade the slave States which adhered to the Union that their best interests would be promoted, and the rebellion most effectually discouraged, if they accepted such aid and set their black laborers free. A month later slavery was abolished in the District of Columbia, with compensation to the owners of the emancipated slaves. In July an act was passed which provided for a general confiscation of the property of all persons in

arms against the government, and for the liberation of their slaves.

This seemed to be the limit of legislative power in dealing with the subject; but the executive arm of government, in its military capacity, might reach farther and strike at the institution as a whole. From the beginning of the war many people, not so wise as the great man at the head of the government, nor so careful in weighing questions of duty and right, had been clamorous for emancipation by military decree. Two generals (Frémont and Hunter) had attempted it by their own authority, within the limits of their own commands, and President Lincoln had been denounced for countermanding their proclamations. He knew that the cause of the Union would be hurt more than helped by such an edict, unless it came to be called for as an extreme and necessary measure of war. It would anger the loyal slave States; it would divide opinion in the north; it might ruin the cause. He hated slavery; no one hated it more; but he took no guidance from personal feeling in what he did as president of the United States. He had sworn as president to "preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States," and in the fulfillment of that oath he was exercising all the military as well as all the civil powers of his office; but he had no right to use them for any purpose beyond. If he could see, or when he could see, that a military decree of emancipation would be helpful to the preservation of the constitution by the restoration of the Union, his duty would be to proclaim it; but not before.

Frémont's
and Hunter's
proclama-
tions

The presi-
dent's view
of his duty

These views restrained the measures of the president against slavery in the rebellious States until after the disastrous ending of the peninsular campaign. Then he became convinced that the freeing and arming of the slaves was necessary to success in the war, and his edict of emancipation was prepared. He was persuaded, however, by Mr. Seward, his secretary of state, to withhold the mandate till some victory improved the situation, and it remained in his desk for two months. On the first brightening of prospects, after the battle of Antietam and the retreat of Lee from Maryland, the great proclamation of freedom

The procla-
mation pre-
pared, July,
1862

The Procla-
mation
issued, Sept.
22, 1862

was sent forth. It declared that on the first day of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free." At the appointed time a second proclamation defined the area of the emancipation.

Early effects
of the procla-
mation

The early effects of the proclamation were not encouraging. It offended many Unionists in the border slave States, and most northern Democrats denounced it as a breach of the constitution and of no lawful effect. Party spirit in opposition to the Republican administration had been reviving for some time, and now acquired a more virulent tone. While a large section of the Democratic party, described as "War Democrats," sustained the war, but were sharply critical of the conduct of it, and denunciatory of military arrests, military suspensions of the writ of habeas corpus, and other summary measures for silencing sedition, another section, which received the name of "Copperheads," became outspoken in sympathy with the Confederates and violent in opposition to the war. All these feelings worked strongly against the government in the fall elections of 1862, and the Republican majorities in the next congress were reduced.

"War Dem-
ocrats" and
"Copper-
heads"

Period of
federal re-
verses, Dec.,
1862-July,
1863

From the last month of 1862 till the following mid-summer, the supporters of the Union went through a period of the utmost trial to their faith. One disaster succeeded another in the campaigning of the federal armies, east and west. After Lee's withdrawal from Maryland McClellan became inactive again, and early in November he was superseded in command of the Army of the Potomac by General Burnside. That commander moved the army to a position opposite Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock River, and there made an ill-judged assault on the Confederates, who were intrenched on the hills behind the town. The result was a dreadful repulse, with awful destruction of life. Then Burnside gave way to General Hooker, under whom the ill-fated Army of the Potomac, after lying in camp through the winter, was led to another heart-breaking defeat, at Chancellorsville, not far from the ground of its last reverse. This victory of

Fredericks-
burg, Dec.
13, 1862

Chancel-
lorsville,
May 1-3,
1863

the Confederates cost them the life of "Stonewall" Jackson, who was killed by a volley from his own ranks, fired by mistake. At the west the Union forces were faring little better. Bragg, in December, made another movement northward, and came near to routing the Army of the Cumberland, which met him at Stone River, near Murfreesboro, on the last day of the year. General Rosecrans, who had succeeded Buell in the Tennessee command, was saved from a crushing defeat, only by the splendid obstinacy and steadiness of General Thomas and his corps.

Stone River,
Dec. 31, 1862

The winter was one of serious disheartenment at the north. Enlistments fell off to such a point that congress passed a conscription act in March, making all able-bodied citizens between twenty and forty-five years of age subject, when needed, to draft. In part, however, this was due to the fact that business competed eagerly with war in its demands for men. To supply the waste and consumption of war—wasting and consuming things as well as men—tasked the labor of the country to the last degree. In this respect, and in every other, unnatural conditions—unnaturally stimulating and exciting—were produced by the state of war. As the vast expenditures of the struggle rolled up their monstrous accumulations of debt for some far-away future to pay, an economic recklessness took possession of the nation at large. With every measure of value swept away, at the same time, by increasing floods of an irredeemable, but legal tender, paper money, on the rising tides of which all prices of the markets were swayed and tossed in capricious fluctuations, an era of speculative business and extravagant living,—of wealth and vulgar luxury for a few and of poverty and hardship for the many,—was the inevitable result. Inevitably, too, the patriotism that upheld the cause of the Union was weakened by these pernicious influences, as well as discouraged by many military reverses; and yet its strength was equal to the need, and the hard struggle went on.

Conscrip-
tion act,
March, 1863

Unnatural
conditions in
the country

Demoraliz-
ing influ-
ences

In other countries the disruption of the American Union was looked upon, almost universally, as an accomplished fact; and one, at least, among the European governments

Unfriendli-
ness abroad

Rhodes,
*History of
the U. S.
from 1850,*
4: 76-95, 337-
394

England and
the Confed-
erate cruisers

Friendliness
of the Eng-
lish masses

Lee's second
movement
northward,
June-July,
1863

Gettysburg,
July 1-3,
1863

*Battles and
Leaders*
3: 244-433

Vicksburg,
July 4, 1863

Grant, *Per-
sonal Mem-
oirs*, 1: ch.
xxxix-xxxviii

was eager to intervene and bring the war to an end. Napoleon III., emperor of the French, had persuaded himself from the beginning that the United States were no longer to be feared, and had undertaken a conquest of Mexico, in that belief. The British government would not join him, as he wished, in recognizing and assisting the Confederate States, but it did little to restrain its subjects from giving private aid to the revolt. Confederate agents were permitted to fit out cruisers in British ports and send them to sea, in the face of clear evidence that their mission was to prey upon the commerce of the United States. The ships and cargoes burned and sunk in the last two years of the war by the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and other British-built cruisers, raised a claim against England for many millions of indemnity, when the war closed.

In its unfriendly conduct toward the United States the British government was satisfying the aristocratic and wealthier classes of the kingdom, but not the masses of the common people. Generally, to the latter, whose feeling was expressed by the eloquent tongue of John Bright, the Confederacy was made odious by its championing of slavery, and the proclamation of emancipation won them to warm sympathy with the Union cause. Even the cotton spinners and weavers, who hungered because their spindles and looms were idle for want of cotton from America, would lend no ear to proposals of interference, for the opening of the blockaded ports.

Suddenly, in the summer of 1863, the military situation, and all the prospects of the American conflict, underwent a surprising change. General Lee, venturing again to lead his army from Virginia northward, was followed by the Army of the Potomac and brought to battle, at Gettysburg, in southern Pennsylvania, on the first three days of July. That battle of three days was the most terrific of the war, and the Confederates acknowledged defeat by retreat; but the Union forces, now commanded by General George G. Meade, were too much crippled for pursuit. While the north rejoiced, on the morning of Independence Day, over news of the Gettysburg victory, General Grant was receiving the surrender of Vicksburg, the stronghold

of the Confederates on the Mississippi, after five weary months of labor, battle and siege. Four days later the Confederacy lost its last footing on the Mississippi by the surrender of Port Hudson to General Banks. To check the joy wakened in Union circles by these great successes, there came now the first draft made under the conscription act, and a ferocious riot in resistance to it at New York, terrorizing that city for four days; but the general uplift of northern feeling was not lost.

Port Hudson,
July 8,
1863

Draft riot in
New York,
July 13-16,
1863

Late in the summer, the loyalists of East Tennessee were delivered from their long subjection to the Confederacy, by General Burnside, who penetrated their mountain country from Kentucky, and by General Rosecrans, who forced Bragg out of Chattanooga and won possession of that vitally important post. But, in pursuing Bragg, Rosecrans exposed his forces unwisely, and again, at Chickamauga, as at Stone River, was saved by Thomas from a crushing defeat. Command of the Army of the Cumberland was now given to that fine soldier; but it came to him, at Chattanooga, beleaguered by the enemy and held practically in a state of siege. Help was needed for its extrication, and the task was assigned to General Grant, with a wide enlargement of his authority; while General William T. Sherman took command of Grant's old Army of the Tennessee. The ensuing Chattanooga campaign was one of the most brilliant operations of the war. Reinforced by General Hooker with two corps from the Army of the Potomac, and by Sherman with one corps from Memphis, the plans of General Grant were carried out in November with complete success. In two of the most spectacular battles ever fought the besieging forces were driven from Lookout Mountain and from Missionary Ridge, not only rescuing the beleaguered Army of the Cumberland, but completing the deliverance of East Tennessee.

East Tennessee

Chickamauga,
Sept. 19-20,
1863

Grant at Chattanooga

Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge,
Nov. 24-25,
1863

It was on the eve of these important events that President Lincoln touched the heart of the whole English-speaking world, by the surpassing tenderness and beauty of the few simple words that he spoke at the dedication of the national cemetery for the many dead of the great battle at Gettysburg.

Lincoln's Gettysburg address,
Nov. 19,
1863

Lincoln's
plan of re-
construction,
Dec., 1863

Opposition
in congress

Public sup-
port

Grant, lieu-
tenant-gen-
eral, March
3, 1864

Grant's Vir-
ginia cam-
paign, May
4-June 3,
1864

Grant, *Per-
sonal Mem-
oirs*, ch. vi,
viii-xiii

*Battles and
Leaders*,
4: 118-246

A little later, on sending his annual message to congress, the president issued with it a proclamation of amnesty, designed to open wide doors for the readmission to the Union of errant individuals and errant States. Excepting some classes of leaders and special offenders, it offered pardon and restored rights to all participants in the rebellion who would subscribe a given oath; and it authorized a reorganization of State government in any seceded State by those who subscribed the prescribed oath, if they numbered not less than one tenth of the number of votes cast at the presidential election of 1860 in such State. Under this proclamation the work of reconstruction was begun in Louisiana and Arkansas; and, had the wise, large-hearted statesman who planned it lived long enough to direct the full working of measures for the restoration of the Union, he might have saved the nation from some irreparable mistakes. Men in congress whose patriotism was more passionate than rational opposed the president's scheme of reconstruction, because of its leniency, and embodied measures of more severity in a bill which passed both houses in the last hours of their session, and which Mr. Lincoln would not sign. Public opinion sustained him so plainly that his opponents, attempting to renew their measure at the next session of congress, could carry it in neither house.

The war had now entered its final stage, with Grant (raised to the supreme rank of lieutenant-general, which no other since Washington had held) at the head of all the Union forces, and Sherman in the western command. Grant in Virginia and Sherman in Georgia opened simultaneous campaigns in the early days of May. Between the 4th of that month and the 3d of June, Grant forced his way, across country, from the Rapidan to the Chickahominy, near Richmond, resisted by Lee in terrific battles, first within the forest of the region called The Wilderness, then at Spottsylvania Court House, again on the North Anna River, and finally at Cold Harbor, where a vain assault was made on the Confederate lines, with fearful cost. On the Union side, the killed and wounded in that awful month of battle were no less than 40,000; on the Confederate side the number was much less; but the

Confederacy had fewer to lose, and fewer to replace the loss. Its armies were being worn out. From Cold Harbor Grant moved on to the James River, and crossed it, attempting to take Petersburg by a sudden stroke, which failed. For many months thereafter the Army of the Potomac remained in front of Petersburg, making attacks on the forces there and at Richmond, and on Lee's communications with the south.

Lee attempted a diversion, by sending General Early into the Shenandoah Valley, to do what "Stonewall" Jackson had done formerly with such effect,—raiding northward, invading Maryland and Pennsylvania and threatening Washington. It was then that General Sheridan rose to his place among the most eminent soldiers of the war. Appointed by Grant to a command which embraced everything between his own operations and Sher-

In front of
Petersburg,
June, 1864-
April, 1865

Sheridan
against
Early in the
Shenandoah,
Sept.-Oct.,
1864

Meantime, General Sherman, opposed at the outset by the Confederate General Johnston, and later by General Hood, had fought battles at New Hope Church, at Kennesaw, and at Peach Tree Creek; had reached Atlanta and laid siege to it; had received the surrender of the city; had removed its few inhabitants, to make it a strictly military post, and was preparing for his famous "march to the sea."

Sherman's
campaign in
Georgia

Sherman,
Memoirs, 2:
ch. xvi-xviii

Cox,
Atlanta,
ch. iv-xiv

In these months of active military work the navy was equally busy, performing notable exploits. The destructive career of the famous Confederate cruiser *Alabama* was brought to an end in June by the *Kearsarge*, which encountered her on the coast of France and sunk her in a battle that lasted but an hour. In August, Admiral Farragut forced his way into the harbor of Mobile, as he had forced his way to New Orleans, destroying the naval force and capturing the forts which defended the port.

Destruction
of the *Ala-*
bama, June
19, 1864

Farragut at
Mobile,
Aug. 5, 1864

In November, President Lincoln was reëlected by a large majority over General McClellan, whom the Democrats had put in nomination, and who went to the people with a demand for the "cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the States or other peaceable

Reëlection
of President
Lincoln,
Nov., 1864

Sherman's
march to the
sea, Sept.-
Dec., 1864

Sherman,
Memoirs, 2:
ch. xix-xxi

Cox, *March
to the Sea*

Destruction
of Hood's
army, Nov.-
Dec., 1864

Fall of
Savannah,
Dec. 20, 1864

Lincoln's
second in-
augural ad-
dress, March
4, 1865

Schurz,
*Abraham
Lincoln*,
103-104

Five Forks
—evacua-
tion of Rich-
mond—
Lee's re-
treat, April
1-9, 1865

Surrender at
Appomattox,
April 9, 1865

Larned, *His-
tory of the
U. S.*, 547

means" for the restoration of the Union. On this issue the popular verdict was pronounced with decisive force.

Not many days after the election, Sherman set forth from Atlanta, to traverse the now exhausted Confederacy and prove it to be a nearly emptied shell. Hood had attempted to deter him by moving northward to his rear; but General Schofield, at Franklin, and General Thomas, at Nashville, defeated and shattered this last important body of Confederate troops in the west, while Sherman went his way, foraging for subsistence and leaving a widely desolated track. On the 10th of December the latter reached Savannah; on the 20th the Confederates evacuated that city; on the 15th of January Fort Fisher, at Wilmington, was taken by Admiral Porter and General Terry; on the 1st of February General Sherman resumed his march, turning northward, to coöperate with Grant.

And now came the closing scenes and incidents of the war. Early in February President Lincoln was persuaded to meet Vice-President Stephens and two other representatives of the Confederacy, on a steamer at Fortress Monroe; but their discussion of terms of peace had no result. On the 4th of March Mr. Lincoln entered on the second term of his presidency, and delivered an inaugural address, in which, as Mr. Carl Schurz has said, "he poured out the whole devotion and tenderness of his great soul. . . . No American president had ever spoken words like these to the American people. America never had a president who found such words in the depth of his heart." At Richmond the Confederate authorities had lost hope of holding their capital and were preparing for a southwestward retreat. Grant hastened their movements by an attack, led by Sheridan, who broke Lee's lines at Five Forks. This compelled so hasty an evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond that large parts of the latter city were destroyed by fires which started from the burning of public stores. Lee, retreating with an army reduced to barely 30,000 men, was pursued by more than twice that number and could not escape. At Appomattox Court House he gave up the attempt and surrendered what remained of his little force. "He and his worn veterans could yield with no shame, for they had fought against

tremendous odds, as stubbornly, as bravely, and as skillfully as any army in the history of the world. It is a satisfaction to know that the terms of surrender were made generous by Grant."

Virtually the war was ended by the surrender of General Lee. General Johnston's forces were surrendered on the 26th of April, and all remaining forces laid down their arms in the course of the following month. Before that consummation was reached the awful tragedy of the murder of President Lincoln had occurred. He had been with General Grant, at City Point, when Richmond was entered by the Union troops, and had made two visits to that city, attending to questions that arose from the altered state of affairs. After returning to Washington, he made a carefully considered speech, in response to a public serenade, reviewing the steps toward reconstruction that he had taken already, indicating the dispassionate and liberal temper in which he would strive to have the same work continued, and intimating his opinion that "the very intelligent" among the freed blacks, and "those who serve our cause as soldiers," should be made voters in the reconstructed states, but not the whole mass of late slaves. Three days later, on the evening of the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter, the weary head of the nation sought an hour of relaxation at the theater, with his wife and a party of friends, and there, in his box, he was shot by the stealthy assassin, who crept into it unseen, and who escaped before his deed was understood.

The assassination of the president proved to be in connection with a conspiracy of murder which contemplated the death of the vice-president, Andrew Johnson, and of Mr. Seward, the secretary of state. Mr. Seward was attacked in his house the same evening, and wounded, but not mortally; Mr. Johnson was not reached. John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of the president and contriver of the whole foul plot, was tracked in his flight from Washington, and, on refusing to surrender, was shot. The other conspirators were tried by a military court, and four of them, including a woman, were hanged.

These plotters of murder, and one Confederate prison-keeper, who had been murderous in his cruel treatment of

End of the war

President Lincoln at Richmond

His reconstruction speech at Washington, April 11, 1865

The murder of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865

Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln*, 10: ch. xiv-xv

The assassins and their conspiracy

Jefferson
Davis

Union prisoners of war, were the only actors in or partisans of the rebellion (spies excepted) who suffered a death penalty, imposed by any civil or military court. There were no trials for treason, nor political prosecutions of any kind. Mr. Davis, the fallen president of the fallen Confederacy, was imprisoned for two years, then admitted to bail, and shared in a general amnesty, proclaimed in December, 1868.

Statistics of
the war

The huge armies of the Union were dissolved as rapidly as they had been formed. By the middle of November, 1865, 800,000 men had been mustered out of service and returned to their homes. From first to last there had been 2,200,000 enlisted on the national side, and not less than 1,000,000 had been on the Confederate rolls. About 360,000 on one side and 250,000 or 300,000 on the other had perished in the course of the war, from wounds or disease. More than 2,000 battles and minor engagements had been fought. The government had expended \$3,250,000,000 in the prosecution of the war, and ended it with a national debt of \$2,808,549,000. Such statistics may help to convey to one's mind some conception of the appalling magnitude of the war.

President
Andrew
Johnson,
1865-1869

Wilson,
*Division
and
Reunion*,
ch. xi

His relations
to the party
in power

Vice-President Andrew Johnson, made president by the death of Mr. Lincoln, was a loyal East Tennessean, who refused to recognize the secession of his State, and had represented it in the senate of the United States till the end of his term. After the occupation of Nashville by the Union forces he had been made military governor of Tennessee, and he had been closely associated with the party in power throughout the war; but his political opinions were those of a Democrat, and his relations in the presidency to the party which elected him vice-president were much like those of John Tyler, tending to a like result. He wished to proceed in the reconstruction of the Union on Mr. Lincoln's lines, though inclined, it appeared, to more severity of dealing with the chiefs of the fallen Confederacy; but he had none of Lincoln's surpassing political wisdom and wonderful tact. Hence he could not win the confidence of the nation, and could not keep the mastery of the situation which Lincoln had. He could not, or did not, check proceedings in the process of his

reconstruction measures which alarmed northern sentiment; which involved him in open quarrels with the radicals of the Republican party, and which enabled the latter to win most of the party to their support.

President Johnson's rupture with congress

The result was an open issue between executive and legislative authority, and a practical negation of the former during the last three years of President Johnson's term. Hostility to the president became so passionate that he was impeached, but no conviction was secured. His reconstructive work, and that of President Lincoln, were all undone, by acts of congress, passed over the executive veto, which provided for a fresh reorganization of the lately rebellious States, under military supervision; which gave the suffrage to the freed negroes, affirmed their citizenship, and placed their civil and political rights and privileges under the protection of the courts and the military and naval forces of the United States. This affirmation of the citizenship of the freed blacks, with provisions intended to secure them in the possession of rights, civil and political, in strict equality with white citizens, were then embodied in a proposed Fourteenth Amendment to the constitution, which the States undergoing reconstruction were required to ratify, before congress would admit them to representation as members of the federal union. A Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery "within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction," had been submitted by congress to the States in February, 1865, and its adoption was proclaimed before that year closed. A Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the United States or any State to deny or abridge the right of citizens of the United States to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," was submitted in February, 1869, and became of force in March, 1870. Reconstruction was completed in the following January, when congress received senators and representatives from Virginia, the last of the seceding States to be restored.

His impeachment, Feb., 1868

Congressional reconstruction

Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, 2: ch. viii-xii

Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the constitution, 1865-1870

A state of things most scandalous and deplorable was produced by the congressional methods of reconstruction in most of the southern States. By the enfranchisement of colored citizens and disfranchisement of large leading classes of white men, the former were endowed suddenly

Working of the reconstruction acts

Burgess, *Reconstruction*, 244-264

with supreme political power. Their votes, which men bred as slaves could not possibly cast with intelligence or independence, became controlling for several years, almost everywhere, in public affairs. Political adventurers were never given a more unlimited opportunity for organizing rascality and recklessness in government, and they made the most of it without delay. Resistance by violent measures, to intimidate colored voters and frighten them out of public offices, was then resorted to by the disfranchised whites, who formed secret societies for the purpose, under different names at first, but all finally merged in the formidable Ku-Klux Klan. For nearly a decade the nation was disgraced by the anarchy and corruption that prevailed in the south.

Southern
resistance

The Ku-
Klux Klan

Widespread
demoraliza-
tions

Nor was the evil condition of things confined to the south. The period was one of widespread demoralizations in the country at large, especially in political and commercial affairs. The country was suffering from the after effects of the war, from intensified vices in the "spoils system" of the public service, and from the pernicious stimulation of extravagance and gambling speculation by a depreciated legal tender paper money. It was scandalized and outraged by discoveries of fraud in the war department, custom-house and Indian bureau; by exposures of a "whiskey ring" robbing the national treasury, a "Tweed ring" plundering the city of New York, a "Fisk and Gould ring" looting the Erie Railway, with the help of corrupted courts.

Frauds and
thievish
"rings"

General
Grant, presi-
dent, 1869-
1877

Such incidents of the after-war demoralization cast something of an unfortunate shadow on the administration of General Grant, who was elected to the presidency in 1868, and reëlected in 1872. But the same administration is distinguished by many vigorous undertakings of correction and reform,—most importantly by the first act of congress in the interest of "civil service reform," which was passed in 1871, upon the recommendation of President Grant. It is distinguished still more by its settlement with Great Britain of claims growing out of the depredations committed by the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers or commerce-destroyers, built and fitted out in British ports. Under a treaty signed at Washing-

First civil
service re-
form act,
1871

ton in 1871, the "*Alabama* claims," so-called, were submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, which sat at Geneva, Switzerland, the following year, and which awarded an indemnity of \$15,500,000 to the United States.

Settlement
of the *Ala-*
bama
claims, 1871-
1872

Further unification of Italy

During the years of the fierce war in America, Europe in general was at peace, but circumstances were preparing for great and violent changes in that part of the world. In 1862 Garibaldi raised volunteers for the overthrow of the papal government at Rome; but King Victor Emmanuel, who waited patiently for the attainment of the same result by diplomatic means, suppressed the unwise attempt. Two years later, the king of Italy brought about an agreement with the French emperor to withdraw his garrison from Rome, and, after that had been done, the annexation of Rome to the Italian kingdom was a mere question of time. It came about in 1870, after the fall of Louis Napoleon, and Victor Emmanuel transferred his capital to Rome. The pope's domain was then limited to the precincts of the Vatican.

Garibaldi

End of the
temporal
power of the
pope, 1870

The unification of Germany

The unification of Italy was the first of a remarkable series of nationalizing movements, which have been the most significant feature of the history of the last half of the nineteenth century. The next of these movements to begin was in Germany—the much divided country of one peculiarly homogeneous and identical race. Influences tending toward unification had been acting on the Germans since Prussia rose to superiority in the north. By the middle of the century, the educated, military Prussia that was founded after 1806 had become a power capable of great things in capable hands; and the capable hands received it. Frederick William IV., king of Prussia since 1840, died in 1861, after four years of mental incapacity, and his brother William, who had been regent in that interval, became king. In the following year King William called Otto von Bismarck to his counsels, and, under the lead and inspiration of that remarkable statesman, began the course of policy which raised Prussia to the headship of a new Germanic empire, and to a place

Sybel, *The
Founding of
the German
Empire*,
v. 3-5

The Prus-
sian nucleus
of a united
Germany

King Wil-
liam of Prus-
sia and Otto
von Bis-
marck

The Schles-
wig-Holstein
imbroglio,
1863-1866

The Austro-
Prussian
Seven
Weeks War,
1866

Austria out
of the Ger-
man circle

Aggrandize-
ment of
Prussia

in the front rank of European powers. Bismarck found his first opportunity for the aggrandizement of his country in an old and obscure question between Denmark and the German Confederation, relative to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Some occurrences that happened fortunately for his plans reopened this Schleswig-Holstein question in 1863, and he succeeded in luring Austria (whose pretensions to leadership in German affairs he planned to break down) into a joint undertaking with Prussia, for the occupation of the disputed duchies and their separation from the Danish crown. In 1864 the project was carried out; a year later Prussia and Austria were in quarrel over the administration of the duchies; in 1866 they fought the quarrel out, and Austria was vanquished in a Seven Weeks War, finished at the crushing battle of Sadowa, or Königgrätz. The superiority of Prussia, organized by her great military administrator and soldier, Moltke, was overpowering; her rival was at her mercy; but Bismarck and his king were wisely magnanimous. They refrained from inflicting on the Austrians a humiliation that would rankle and keep enmities alive. They foresaw the need of future friendship between the two powers of central Europe, as against Russia on the one side and France on the other, and they shaped their policy to secure it. It sufficed them to have put Austria out of the German circle forever; to have ended the false relation in which the Hapsburgs—rulers of an essentially Slavonic and Magyar dominion—had stood toward Germany so long.

Prussia now dominated the surrounding German states so commandingly that the mode and the time of their unification may be said to have been within her own control. Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Schleswig-Holstein and Frankfort were incorporated in the Prussian kingdom at once. Saxony and the other states of the north were enveloped in a North German Confederation, with the king of Prussia for its hereditary president and commander of its forces. The states of southern Germany were left unfederated for the time being, but bound themselves by treaty to put their armies at the disposal of Prussia. Thus Germany as a whole was already made practically one

power, under the control of King William and the great minister to whom he gave a free hand.

Complete unification of Italy

The same war which unified Germany carried forward the nationalization of Italy another step. Victor Emmanuel had been shrewd enough to form an alliance with Prussia before the war began, and he attacked Austria in Venetia simultaneously with the German attack on the Bohemian side. The Italians were beaten at Custozza, and their navy was defeated in the Adriatic; but the victorious Prussians exacted Venetia for them in the settlement of peace, and Austria had no longer any foothold in the Italian peninsula.

Austria out
of Venetia,
1866

Federation of Austria-Hungary

It is greatly to the credit of Austria, long blinded and stupefied by the narcotic of absolutism, that the lessons of the war of 1866 sank deep into her mind and produced a very genuine enlightenment. The whole policy of the court of Vienna was changed, and with it the constitution of the empire. The statesmen of Hungary were called into consultation with the statesmen of Austria, and the outcome of their discussions was an agreement which swept away the old Austria, holding Hungary in subjection, and created in its place a new power—a federal Austria-Hungary—equalized in its two principal parts, and united under the same sovereign with distinct constitutions.

The dual
empire

Franco-German War

The surprising triumph of Prussia in the Seven Weeks War stung Louis Napoleon with a jealousy which he could not conceal. He was incapable of perceiving what it signified,—of perfection in the organization of the Prussian kingdom and of power in its resources. He was under illusions as to his own strength. His empire had been honeycombed by the rascalities that attended and surrounded him, and he did not know it. He imagined France to be capable of putting a check on Prussian aggrandizement; and he began very early after Sadowa to pursue King William with demands which were tolerably certain to end in war. When the war came, in July,

Moltke, *The
Franco-
German
War*

Prussia
challenged
to war by
Louis Napo-
leon

Sedan, Sept.
1, 1870

German
siege of
Paris, Sept.
20, 1870-Jan.
30, 1871

The cost of
peace to
France

1870, it was by his own declaration; yet Prussia was prepared for it and France was not. In six weeks' time from the declaration of war,—in one month from the first action,—Napoleon himself was a prisoner of war in the hands of the Germans, surrendered at Sedan, with the whole army which he personally commanded; the empire was in collapse, and a provisional government had taken the direction of affairs. On the 20th of September Paris was invested; on the 28th of October Bazaine, with an army of 150,000 men, capitulated at Metz. A hopeless attempt to rally the nation to fresh efforts of defense in the interior, on the Loire, was made valiantly under the lead of Gambetta; but it was too late. When the year closed, besieged Paris was at the verge of starvation and all attempts to relieve the city had failed. On the 28th of January, 1871, an armistice was sought and obtained; on the 30th, Paris was surrendered and the Germans entered it. The treaty of peace signed subsequently ceded Alsace to Germany, with a fifth of Lorraine, and bound France to pay a war indemnity of five milliards of francs.

The making of a Federal Germanic Empire

William of
Prussia be-
comes em-
peror Jan. 18,
1871

While the Germans were besieging Paris, their statesmen and princes were framing the constitution of a new Germanic Confederation, which should embrace the states of south Germany, as well as those of the north, with the king of Prussia, its president, raised to imperial rank. Agreements were reached and the imperial constitution adopted before the end of the year, whereupon King William of Prussia assumed the title of German emperor, on the 18th of January, 1871, while occupying the grand palace of Louis XIV., at Versailles.

Birth of the Third Republic in France

Thiers,
president

In February, 1871, the provisional "government of national defense" gave way in France to a national assembly, duly elected under the provisions of the armistice, and an executive was instituted at Bordeaux, under the presidency of M. Thiers. Early in March, the German forces were withdrawn from Paris, and control of the city was seized immediately by that dangerous element—Jacobin-



EMPEROR WILLIAM I

ical, or red republican, or communistic, as it may be described variously,—which always shows itself with promptitude and power in the French capital, at disorderly times. The “commune” was proclaimed, and the national government was defied. From the 2d of April until the 28th of May Paris was again under siege, this time by forces of the French government, fighting to overcome the revolutionists within. The proceedings of the latter were more wantonly destructive than those of the Terrorists of the Revolution, and scarcely less sanguinary. The commune was suppressed in the end with great severity.

The Paris
“commune”

French siege
of Paris,
April 2-May
28, 1871

Great Britain and Ireland

During the war in America the Liberal party held power in Great Britain, but it was the Liberal party in an early stage of its development, before its constituency had been broadened and while Russell and Palmerston were its parliamentary chiefs. The liberalism of Palmerston had never been ardent, and that of Russell had cooled with age. The latter believed, however, that the time had come for a further step in popularizing the parliamentary representation, and he prepared a new reform bill in 1867; but his proposals were not favored and he resigned. Then the Conservatives came into office, and Disraeli thought to strengthen his party by a surprising concession to the pressing demand for a widened representation of the people. When his bill came into parliament the advanced Liberals forced him to give it a scope much beyond his intention, and beyond even the desires of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. The result was a most unexpected leap in English progress toward democracy in government, adding a great body of small rent-paying and rate-paying householders to the voting class.

Russell and
Palmerston

Disraeli's
reform bill,
1867

By this time, political sentiment in the Liberal party had become more genuinely liberalized, under the influence of such men as Gladstone, Bright, and Cobden, and the party itself had been reinforced. Public opinion was becoming attentive to the wrongs of Ireland, and Gladstone, in the spring of 1868, was able to pass resolutions in the house of commons in favor of releasing the Catholic Irish people from the compulsory support of that established Protestant

The liberal-
ized Liberal
party

Gladstone's
first minis-
try, 1868-
1874

Morley, *Life
of Glad-
stone*, 2: bk. 6

Gladstone's
measures

Treaty of
Washington,
1871

Irish discon-
tent

Fenian con-
spiracies,
1858-1867

church which had tithed and taxed them for three hundred years. This forced the Conservative ministry, under Earl Derby and Mr. Disraeli, to resign, and Mr. Gladstone became premier for the next five years. In that period, what seemed to be hardly less than a revolutionary change in the domestic institutions and policy of the United Kingdom was produced, by the remarkable number of important measures that were carried into effect. Aside from Irish measures, to be spoken of presently, a national system of common schools was established, partly controlled, however, as "church schools," by the established church; dissenters were admitted, for the first time, to the great universities, by abolition of the old oppressive "test oath"; the selling of commissions in the army was abolished; use of the secret ballot in voting was introduced. In external matters the policy of the government was pacific, and it was at pains to recover friendly relations with the United States, by the treaty of Washington, which settled the "*Alabama* claims," so-called, in 1871.

It was in Ireland, however, that this Gladstone ministry performed its most notable work, addressing itself with earnestness to undertakings for a removal of the causes of Irish discontent. For a time after the heart-breaking famine of 1845-47, and the feeble plotting of the Young Ireland party, there had been a despairing quiet in the island; and then came a revival of passionate animosity to British rule, producing the Fenian conspiracies, which ran their course from about 1858 to 1867. Those conspiracies drew most of their encouragement and support from the Irish in America, who had immigrated in vast numbers since the famine, and had prospered fairly well. Many of them had served in the American civil war, and they were eager to furnish men as well as money for the attacks on Great Britain which the Fenian brotherhood proposed. But the whole movement was made futile by weak or dishonest management, and produced nothing but some planless raids into Canada from the American border, and an abortive rising in Ireland, in 1867. Two years later, Mr. Gladstone was able to begin the long effort of his public life to heal the sense of wrong in Irish minds. First, he took in hand the religious grievance,

and disestablished the Irish branch of the church of England, styled the church of Ireland, which, having in its membership a tenth, only, of the population of the island, had been supported, nevertheless, by the taxation of the whole. The Catholics, the Presbyterians and other dissenters were now released from this unjust burden. Then, in 1870, he turned to the land question and passed a bill, the first of several which restrict the power of Irish landlords to oppress their tenants, and which protect the latter, while opening opportunities for the ownership of land.

Disestablishment of the Irish church, July, 1869

First Irish land bill, 1870

Revolution and restoration in Spain

In Spain, a liberal party, and even a republican party, had been gaining ground for some years. Queen Isabella placed herself in conflict with it, and a revolution occurred in 1868 which drove her into France. The revolutionists offered the crown to a prince related distantly to the royal family of Prussia. It was this incident that gave Louis Napoleon a pretext for quarreling with the king of Prussia in 1870 and declaring war. Declined by the Hohenzollern prince, the Spanish crown was then offered to Amadeo, son of the king of Italy, who accepted it, but resigned it again in 1873, after a reign of two years, in disgust with the factions which troubled him. Castelar, the distinguished republican orator, then formed a republican government which held the reins for a few months, but could not establish order in the troubled land. The monarchy was restored in December, 1874, by the coronation of Alfonso XII., son of the exiled Isabella.

Expulsion of Queen Isabella, 1868

An Italian king, 1871-1873

A short-lived republic, 1873-1874

Russia

Nearly two years in advance of the emancipation of black slaves in the United States, by the military proclamation of President Lincoln, the white serfs of Russia—last relics of European serfdom—were set free by the autocratic edict of the czar Alexander II., who succeeded his father, Nicholas I., on the Russian throne, in 1855. With the decree of emancipation—issued on the 3d of March (Old Style, February 19), 1861,—went measures for assisting the freed peasants to become possessors of land, with important communal rights. Results, apparently, have not fully realized the generous intention of

Emancipation of serfs by Alexander II., March 3, 1861

Aims of the
tzar

good to the humble mass of his subjects that inspired the czar. That he began his reign with large views and generous aims, and strove hard for a number of years to reform a government that is despotized by many social forces which its theoretical autocrat has no power to control, is hardly open to doubt. But his work was timed unfortunately, in the period when socialistic ferments in Europe were generating demands of a kind which nothing rational in government could satisfy, and the long repression of the Russian mind had made it peculiarly susceptible to that unnatural heating of free thought. The czar's empire became the very center of propagation for mad theories of Anarchism and Nihilism,—for mad conspiracies against all government and law. Their antagonism checked and repelled his inclinations toward political reform, and produced a hardened temper in the later years of his reign.

Anarchism
and Nihil-
ism

Russian ad-
vance in
Central
Asia, 1859-
1869

For some years past the Russians had been pushing their western Siberian frontiers southward, slowly completing the subjugation of the Kirghiz hordes, and advancing their posts into the heart of that Central Asian region of which almost nothing had been known to Europe since the days of Timour, who made his capital at Samarkand. About 1859, having established their posts on the Aral and the Jaxartes, they entered resolutely upon the conquest of Turkestan, and received the submission of Tashkend, Khokhand and Bokhara in the course of the next ten years. Having then reached the Oxus, and become the successors of Greeks, Huns, Turks, Arabs and Tatars, in ancient Sogdiana, they paused for a short time.

British America

Commercial
reciprocity
treaty with
the U. S.,
1854-1865

An important arrangement of free trade between Canada and the United States, for certain enumerated articles, was effected by a treaty of reciprocity negotiated and ratified in 1854. The treaty was obnoxious to the champions of protectionism in the United States, and, at the end of the ten years for which it was required to be in force, the authorities at Washington gave the requisite notice of abrogation. It expired, accordingly, in 1865.

The event of most importance in British-American his-

tory occurred in 1867, when the Dominion of Canada was created, by a federal union of the former province of Canada with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, under a statute of the imperial parliament, known as the British North America Act. Provision was made in the act for the subsequent accession of Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and British Columbia, and for the acquisition of the great domain of the Hudson Bay Company (Rupert's Land and the Northwest), stretching northward to the Arctic Sea. British Columbia was brought into the confederation in 1871 and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Newfoundland has declined to enter it, thus far. In 1870 the Dominion government made terms with the Hudson Bay Company and obtained the cession of all its rights; but had to deal with some resistance from settlers in the Red River region, in and around Fort Garry (now the city of Winnipeg), where an effort at rebellion was headed by one Louis Riel. It was easily overcome, and that section of the Dominion territory, organized as the province of Manitoba, was received into the confederation at once.

Confederation of the Dominion of Canada, 1867

Bourinot, *Canada*, ch. xxv-xxvii

Acquisition of Hudson Bay Territory, 1870

Mexico

For years after the war with the United States, the intervals between one revolution or rebellion and another, in Mexico, were brief and rare. Stability of government seemed a wholly impossible thing for the country to attain. In 1861 the apparently lawful president was Benito Juárez, a Mexican of pure Indian blood, who had been president of the supreme court of justice, and, as such, had become acting president when his predecessor, Comonfort, was driven from the country by a successful revolt. In his turn he had rebellion to fight with, and held his ground against it sufficiently to win an election to the presidency in the spring of 1861. Meantime, he had drawn upon himself and his party the implacable enmity of the church, by a decree sequestrating church property, and had challenged foreign intervention by another decree, suspending payment of interest for two years on the Mexican public debt.

Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States*, 9: ch. i-xiv

President Benito Juárez, 1858-1872

1859

The effect of this last measure was experienced in 1861, when English, French and Spanish creditors of Mexico

Foreign intervention, 1861

French conquest, 1861-1863

Maximilian's empire, 1864-1867

His fate

The restored republic

1872

induced their several governments to unite in an undertaking for the forcible collection of their dues. A joint expedition was sent accordingly, Spain and England having no other purpose than to enforce their claims. Soon discovering that their trickish French ally, Napoleon III., had other designs, and aimed at a conquest of Mexico, they withdrew from the expedition and left him alone. He, taking advantage of the civil war then distracting the United States, increased his forces in Mexico and prosecuted a war which resulted in the overthrow of the government of Juarez, and the proclamation of a Mexican empire, with an Austrian archduke, Maximilian, upon its throne. Supported by French arms, the foreign emperor was able to act his part as such till 1867, when his patron, Napoleon, gave heed to the insistence of the United States that he should withdraw his troops. Left then to his own defense, a few weeks sufficed for Maximilian's defeat, capture, and tragical death. In a desperate assertion of his sovereignty, he had decreed death to all who resisted it, and men taken in arms against him had been shot. This doomed him to the same fate.

The government of Juarez was restored, with fairly general support from the people, notwithstanding the hostility of the church; but civil war broke out again in 1871, when the Juaristas reelected their chief for another term. While the struggle was in progress, Juarez died, and Mexico recovered peace for three years. New commotions then arose, ending in the attainment of power by the remarkable man, General Porfirio Diaz, whose advent marked the beginning, for the Mexican republic, of an astonishing new career.

Paraguayan War

Dictator Lopez II., 1862-1870

After the death (1840) of Dr. Francia, the original dictator-despot of Paraguay, a similar despotism was established in that submissive country by one Lopez, who conducted it for twenty-one years, and then passed it on to his son, with a large revenue and a large surplus in hand. Lopez II., a depraved and malignant creature, formed an army which he thought invincible, and proceeded to conduct himself like one insane, picking quarrels

with his neighbors, and dealing out torture and death to all around him. The United States minister to Paraguay, Mr. Washburn, had a narrow escape from his hands. The result was an alliance of Brazil, Uruguay and the Argentine republic against him, in a horrible war, of five years duration, which consumed the larger part of the male population of Paraguay, but delivered the country at last by the despot's overthrow and ignominious death.

1865-1870

Egypt and the Sudan

Mehemet Ali had been able to make his pashalik or viceroyalty of Egypt an hereditary office in his family, and transmitted it to the descendants of an adopted son. His fourth successor, Ismail Pasha, who mounted the viceregal throne in 1863, became an important figure in the history of his time, by the extravagant splendors with which he surrounded himself, as well as by the bold enterprises that he undertook for the development of the material resources of his realm. He persuaded the sultan to raise his title to that of "khedive," which signifies, it is said, a close approach to royal rank. It was during his reign that the Suez Canal, authorized by his predecessor and begun in 1859, was finished and opened in 1869.

Ismail
Pasha, 1863-
1879The pasha
becomes
"khedive,"
1867The Suez
Canal, 1869

Ambitious to subjugate the tribes of the Sudan, Ismail sought and received European help, under promises to suppress slave-catching and the slave-trade. Sir Samuel Baker, the English explorer, was first commissioned for the task, in 1870, as governor-general of the provinces to be subdued. In the course of three years, with a small body of troops, Baker enforced his authority in a district surrounding Gondokoro; but the subjugation of the Sudan and the extirpation of the slave-hunters were beyond the means at his command.

Japan

To disturb the artificial conditions that had existed in Japan since the days of Ieyasu, by so great an innovation as the admission of foreigners to the empire, was to shatter them altogether, and the shogunate system of government went down in the break. It was forced to acknowledge its powerlessness to control the daimios (feudal lords) who resented the foreign treaties, who

Nitobe,
*Intercourse
between the
U. S. and
Japan*, ch. iiiWeakening
of the sho-
gunate gov-
ernment

Chastise-
ment of hos-
tile daimios

armed and fortified themselves for war, whose retainers made murderous attacks on foreign representatives, and one of whom went so far as to open fire from his forts on ships passing through a Japanese strait. Thereupon the treaty powers took measures of chastisement into their own hands, and after two hostile daimios, in the Satsuma and the Choshu lordships, had experienced an encounter with western warships and marines, the disposition of those lords was greatly changed. The attitude of the mikado's court underwent an equal change, and its consent to the foreign treaties was signified in 1865.

Fall of the
shogun, 1867-
1869

Yedo be-
comes
Tokyo, 1869

But, while resistance to the shogunate foreign policy gave way, the movement to recover for the mikado the executive authority which the shoguns had usurped went on, and increased in strength. In November, 1867, the reigning shogun yielded to it, or appeared to do so; but ultimately he resisted deposition, and there were some months of civil war, ending in the shogun's discomfiture and the complete restoration of the mikado's sovereign power. The last resistance to the imperial forces was in the summer of 1869. In the following November the mikado's court was removed from Kyoto, where it had been located since A. D. 794, to Yedo, the capital of the late shogunate, the name of which city was then changed to Tokyo, signifying eastern capital, while Kyoto was newly named Saikyo, or the capital in the west.

End of feu-
dalism

Abolition of
the daimi-
ates, Aug. 7,
1869

Before this occurred, the ancient feudal system of provincial government had been, like the shogunate, cleared from the path of progress to which Japan now turned. It was abolished with the consent—even request—of the leading daimios; or, rather, on the initiative of the capable ministers,—members of the samurai or military class,—who performed the functions of those generally effete lords. By an imperial decree, the daimiates were abolished, with compensation to the daimios for revenues lost, and prefectures were organized in their stead. Then Japan stood prepared for an eager and quick absorption of the modern knowledge so long denied to her, and began the new career which has so amazed the world.

CHAPTER XXIII

FROM BISMARCK'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE TO THE PRESENT DAY

(1871 TO 1905)

The Peace Conference at The Hague. *Great Britain and Ireland:* Beaconsfield and "jingoism."—The third reform bill.—Gladstone's Irish home rule bills.—Rupture in the Liberal party.—Salisbury and Balfour ministries.—Pacifying measures for Ireland.—Education acts.—Imperialistic policy.—Chamberlain's revived protectionism.—Death of Queen Victoria.—King Edward VII. *The French republic:* The Dreyfus agitation.—Measures for public control of education, and for separation of church and state. *The German empire:* William II.—Imperial egotism.—The new Germany.—Socialistic paternalism. *Russia and her neighbors:* Russo-Turkish war.—Russian treatment of Finland.—Development of Siberia.—Dangerous discontent in the empire. *Japan, China, Korea, and the Russians in eastern Asia:* War between Japan and China.—Treatment of China by western powers.—The "Boxer" outbreak.—Russian designs in Manchuria.—Russo-Japanese war. *Egypt and the Sudan:* Foreign control of Egyptian finances.—Arabi's revolt.—British suppression of it.—The "mahdi" in the Sudan.—Fate of Colonel Gordon.—Egyptian conquest of the Sudan. *The partitioning of Africa:* The Congo Free State.—The Berlin Conference.—Scramble for African territory. *Boer-Brition war:* Its causes and results. *The United States:* Conditions in the south.—Monetary questions.—Greenback and Silver parties.—Tariff questions.—Civil service reform.—War with Spain.—Acquisition and subjugation of the Philippines.—Liberation of Cuba.—Panama Canal.—Material progress.—Imperialistic ambitions. *Elsewhere:* Prosperity in Canada.—Progress under Diaz in Mexico.—Fall of the Brazilian empire.—Confederation of Australian colonies.—Socialistic experiments in New Zealand.

In the brief period that we surveyed last there were three great wars and many minor ones fought, in different parts of the world. In the period that we now enter, to trace the latest incidents of the story of mankind, we shall find, perhaps, as much war as we have noted in any equal stretch of previous time. The greater nations are lying, so to speak, on their arms, watching one another with jealous hearts: Germany, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, maintain armies, even in years of peace, that would

Continued
prevalence of
war

Military and
naval arma-
ments

have seemed monstrous, not long ago, for actual war; England is adding more, and always more, to the hundreds of her battle ships and cruisers; the United States are making haste to secure a place among the foremost of the naval powers, and all the lesser nations are supporting fleets and military armaments beyond their means. The preparation for battle is so vast in its scale, so unceasing, so increasing, so far in the lead beyond all other efforts among men, that it seems like a new affirmation of belief that war is the natural order of the world.

Yet the in-
fluences for
peace grow
powerful

And yet, the dread of war is greater in the civilized world than ever before. The interests and influences that work for peace are more powerful than at any former time. The wealth which war threatens, the commerce which it interrupts, the industry which it disturbs, the intelligence which it offends, the humanity which it shocks, the Christianity which it grieves, grow stronger to resist it, year by year. The statesman and the diplomatist are under checks of responsibility which a generation no older than Palmerston's never felt. The arbitrator and the tribunal of arbitration have become familiar within a quarter of a century. The spirit of the age opposes war with rising earnestness and increasing force; while the circumstance and fact of the time seem arranged for it as the chief business of mankind.

The Peace Conference at The Hague

Larned,
*History for
Ready Ref-
erence*, 6 :
Peace Con-
ference (giv-
ing docu-
ments in
full)

Meeting of
the Peace
Conference,
1899

The three
conventions
signed, 1899

When, in 1898, the czar of Russia proposed a conference of all governments for the purpose of seeking "the most effective means of assuring to all peoples the blessings of real and lasting peace, and above all of limiting the progressive development of existing armaments," a happy surprise of hope, that war might be checked, if not ended, was felt in the world. All nations of importance responded to the czar's invitation, and their representatives were assembled in conference at The Hague, in Holland, from the 18th of May till the 29th of July, 1899. The fruits of the conference were three conventions, signed then or since and formally ratified by most of the civilized nations of the world. The convention of greatest importance relates to "the pacific settlement of

international disputes," by means of the "good offices and mediation" of neutral powers, or by "international commissions of inquiry," or by a "permanent court of arbitration." By a second convention "the laws and customs of war on land" were agreed upon and defined; while a third was for "the adaptation to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864," relative to the protection of the wounded and sick. The permanent court of arbitration, as planned by the conference, composed of arbitrators selected by the signatory powers, each naming four persons, was organized at The Hague on the first of January, 1901. Some disputes have been referred to it since and have received settlement at its hands; but thus far it has not given much practical proof of its importance as an agency for the preservation of peace. Nevertheless, the mere existence of this august tribunal has an influence that cultivates and encourages the feeling against war.

Permanent
court of
arbitration

Great Britain and Ireland

Such uprooting and new planting of systems and institutions as the Liberal government accomplished in Great Britain and Ireland between 1868 and 1874 could not be carried out without arousing many enmities, and weakening the responsible party, for a time. Warned by plain signs that the country would sustain his radical reform movement no farther, Mr. Gladstone advised the queen to dissolve parliament in 1874 and obtain an expression of the national will. The election went against him, and Disraeli (raised to the peerage soon afterward, as earl of Beaconsfield) returned to power. Then, for six years, the whole tone, temper and principle of the British government was reversed. A rampant policy of imperialism, aggressive, intrusive and pugnacious, carried England to the verge of another war with Russia, in defense of the Turks; led her into a second disastrous invasion of Afghanistan, into dreadful conflicts with the South African Boers and Zulus, and into Egyptian undertakings that resulted in a succession of costly wars. By 1880, when a new parliament was to be elected, the country was weary of this intermeddling "jingoism," with its drum

Morley,
*Life of
Gladstone*,
2-3 : bk. 7-10

Second min-
istry of Dis-
raeli (Bea-
consfield),
1874-1880

"Jingo"
policy

Gladstone's
second min-
istry, 1880-
1886

and trumpet displays, and a large Liberal majority gave the government to Gladstone again.

Irish "land
league" and
"home rule
party"

The state of Ireland had grown worse in the interval. There had not been success in the working of the land bill. Hatred of landlords had become passionate, and a powerful "land league" had been organized, to resist or restrict their control of the soil. At the same time, for political action, a compact party, which demanded "home rule" by a separate legislature for Ireland, had risen among the Irish members of parliament, under a strong leader, Charles Stuart Parnell. Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues were disposed to resume efforts for the ending of Irish discontent; but they failed to satisfy the party of the "Home Rulers," and a bitter conflict occurred. Mr. Parnell and his party held the balance of power in parliament, and were able to bring all important legislation to a stop for two years. The government was provoked to harsh acts of authority, which excited reckless men to murderous crimes. At last the contending parties in parliament arranged a truce, and the government was enabled to pass some measures of importance, including an act which enlarged the constituency of parliament for the third time, and another which made a new and more equal distribution of parliamentary seats. This third of the great parliamentary reforms added about two millions of votes to the electors of parliament, making the English constitution hardly less democratic than that of the United States. In 1885 the Gladstone ministry, blamed for its failure to rescue General Gordon from a situation in Egypt that will be referred to hereafter, resigned office, in consequence of an adverse vote in parliament, and a Conservative ministry was formed, with the marquis of Salisbury for its chief,—Lord Beaconsfield being dead. But the change was not approved by the country, as shown on the election of a new parliament, and the Liberals resumed office, but only for a brief time.

The third
reform bill,
1884

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
2: England,
1884-1885
(full text)

First Salis-
bury minis-
try and third
Gladstone
ministry,
1885-1886

First Irish
home rule
bill, 1886

Mr. Gladstone was now persuaded that England must yield to the Irish demand for home rule, and proposed the creation of a separate legislature for that part of the United Kingdom, by a bill which he brought forward in April, 1886. One large section of the Liberal party re-

fused to follow his lead in this matter, and, taking the name of Liberal Unionists, went into coalition with the Conservatives against the bill. Defeated in parliament, Mr. Gladstone appealed to the country and was beaten again; whereupon a coalition ministry of Conservatives and Liberal Unionists was formed, with Lord Salisbury at its head. The period of this ministry was one of continued Irish agitation, but of general peace in the empire, and of some excellent legislation on domestic affairs. An admirable reorganization of local government in England, consolidating and simplifying it under county councils, was effected, and the elementary schools were made entirely free, by an increased public grant, which permitted the abolition of fees. The term of the parliament that supported Lord Salisbury expired in 1892, and the question of home rule for Ireland became distinctly the issue on which its successor was chosen. In England the majority was heavily against home rule; Scotland and Wales voted favorably, and Ireland, of course, did the same. In the whole House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone found a majority of forty-four to sustain him in passing a second Irish home rule bill, which he brought forward soon after the responsibility of government was intrusted to him for the fourth time. But the strength of English opposition to the measure was fatal to its success. When the lords took their stand against the bill, by an overwhelming vote, there was no stormy public opinion to compel them to recede, and Mr. Gladstone accepted defeat. In the following spring he resigned, having passed his eighty-fourth year, and in May, 1898, he died.

Nothing but the personal influence of Mr. Gladstone had brought so considerable a section of the Liberal party to the support of his project of home rule for Ireland, and unity in even that section of the party, on this and other questions, was lost when his leadership was withdrawn. For a little more than a year after his retirement the Liberal ministry retained office, with the earl of Rosebery for premier, and carried some important measures through parliament, including an act for the creation of parish councils, elected by universal suffrage, women voting, as well as men. Then, in 1895, it lost its parliamentary

Secession
from
Liberal
party

Second
Salisbury
ministry,
1886-1892

Local gov-
ernment and
education
acts

Fourth
Gladstone
ministry,
1892-1894

Defeat of
second home
rule bill,
1893

Death of
Gladstone,
May, 1898

Rosebery
ministry,
1894-1895

Third Salisbury ministry, 1895-1902

Balfour ministry, 1902-

majority, by losing the support of the Irish party, and resigned. From that time to the present the government has been controlled by the coalition of Conservatives with Liberal Unionists, Lord Salisbury holding the premiership till 1902, when he retired, and was succeeded by Mr. Arthur J. Balfour. In August, 1903, Lord Salisbury died.

Pacifying measures for Ireland

Without conceding the separate legislature demanded by the Irish "home rulers," but by other measures of conciliation and reform, this ministry has been able to bring about, in appearance, at least, more quietude of feeling in Ireland than was ever known before. In 1896 it gave the island a new and more satisfactory land act. Seven years later it passed a land purchase bill, which applies a public fund of £100,000,000 to the purchase of estates for re-sale to tenants; and its measures were rounded out in 1898 by a local government act for Ireland, somewhat on the lines of the English act of 1888.

Conservative educational measures

This marked liberality of statesmanship, shown in Irish affairs, has not been carried into other regions of policy by the coalition ministry. Generally it has taken a distinctly reactionary course. It has altered the English educational system in the interest of church schools, at the expense of the non-sectarian "board schools." A first step in that direction was taken in 1897, when the aid to voluntary or church schools from public funds was augmented heavily, and they received a more unified organization, to increase their strength. In 1902 the government went much farther, yielding to the extreme demands of the church. By the act then passed, the support of the church schools was made entirely a public charge, while the appointment of their teachers is still to be controlled by managers of their own. The whole system of school administration is reorganized by the act. School boards disappear, and their functions are transferred to county councils.

Church schools

Imperialistic policy

Joseph Chamberlain

In a new form, shaped by new circumstances, the imperialistic ambitions of Disraeli have been revived by the government of the past decade. This is attributed, largely, to the influence of the colonial secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, once chief of the radical wing of the

Liberal party, but who led the secession of Liberal Unionists from Mr. Gladstone's following, on the question of Irish home rule. Mr. Chamberlain seems to have been able to waken a strong feeling throughout the British empire in favor of more unity of interest and more intimacy of relations between the colonies and the mother nation; but no distinct plan of unification, whether by imperial federation or otherwise, has yet been evolved. The general aim, however, of the new imperialism has tended to reproduce the aggressive and expansive colonial policy which liberalism had been putting aside. It brought about the very serious war of 1899-1902 with the Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, by its eagerness to consolidate the British South African dominion; and, lately, it has renewed the intrusions of the government of India upon its northern neighbors, even beyond the great barrier of the Himalayas, till the sequestered Tibetans were driven to take arms in defense of the seclusion they desire.

Imperial
federation
projects

(See pages
487-489)

Another development of the new British imperialism and Conservative reaction is toward a revival of the long abandoned policy of industrial protection. In this, too, the moving spirit is Mr. Chamberlain, who has two objects in view: (1) to favor the British colonies in trade with the mother country, by discriminating duties on breadstuffs and meat; and (2), as he has expressed it, to use such protective duties in "bargaining for better terms with our foreign competitors," by means of treaties of commercial reciprocity. As Mr. Balfour and some members of his cabinet were not fully prepared to take up this part of the colonial secretary's programme, Mr. Chamberlain resigned from the cabinet, in September, 1903, and opened what Americans would call "a campaign of education." Some considerable reconstruction of political parties in Great Britain is likely to result.

Protection-
ist revival

Resignation
of Mr.
Chamber-
lain, 1903

The longest reign in English history, and perhaps the most notable,—when all its happenings and the whole great change that the world underwent within its span are considered,—came to an end on the 22d of January, 1901, when Queen Victoria died, in the eighty-second year of her life and the sixty-fourth year of her rule.

Death of
Queen Vic-
toria, Jan.
22, 1901

She had been a good queen, because a good woman, and there was simple truth in the tribute of her premier, Lord Salisbury, who said to parliament, "she has been a great instance of government by example, by esteem, by love." The late queen's eldest son, Albert Edward, was already in his sixtieth year when he came to the throne. He chose to be entitled Edward VII., rather than Albert I., saying that he wished the name of his father, Prince Albert, who had been called "Albert the Good," to stand alone.

King Edward VII.,
1901-

The French Republic

M. Thiers held the presidency of the Third Republic in France until 1873, when the monarchical party gained ascendancy in the assembly and forced him to resign. Marshal MacMahon was then chosen president, with plans in view for restoring the monarchy, bringing the elder house of Bourbon back to the throne. Nothing but a whimsical obstinacy in the comte de Chambord, the intended king, who forbade the retention of the tricolor as the national flag, saved France from this backward revolution. The attempt gave a fresh stimulation to republicanism, and even the monarchists were impelled to take part in a revision of the constitution on moderate republican lines, in 1875. Both monarchists and Bonapartists lost ground in the subsequent elections, and MacMahon's government became so powerless that he resigned in 1879. His successor was M. Jules Grévy, a moderate republican, who was reëlected at the end of a seven years term, but required to resign in 1887, because of scandalous transactions, traced to a member of his family, which he seemed disposed to cover up. The president next chosen was M. Sadi Carnot, grandson of the famous war minister of the Revolution.

President
MacMahon,
1873-1879

Comte de
Chambord's
whim

President
Grévy, 1879-
1887

President
Carnot,
1887-1894

Wars of con-
quest in
Africa and
Asia, 1881-
1896

In the period of the presidency of M. Grévy the lust of colonial empire was excited to intensity for a few years, and aggressive wars of conquest in Africa and Asia were set on foot. A French protectorate was imposed on Tunis in 1881. The subjugation of Madagascar, long contemplated, became a distinct undertaking in 1883, and was prosecuted for thirteen years, to its completion in 1896,

when the annexation of the island to France was declared in a formal act. An aggressive assertion of French pretensions in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, begun in 1884, produced wars with both Annam and China, resulting the next year in the submission of Annam to a protectorate and the cession of Tonking to France. These military and naval undertakings, especially those in south-eastern Asia, cost too much in men and money to be popular very long, and M. Jules Ferry, the minister held chiefly responsible for them, was driven from public life by the feeling that rose against him.

Fall of
Jules Ferry,
1885

While visiting the city of Lyons, in the summer of 1894, President Carnot was assassinated by an Italian anarchist, and M. Casimir-Périer, elected to the vacant presidency, found discouragements in the office which impelled him to resign it in the January following. M. Felix Faure, who was then elected, died suddenly in February, 1899, and his successor, M. Emile Loubet, is still, at this writing, the chief magistrate of France.

Murder of
President
Carnot, 1894

President
Casimir-
Périer, 1894-
1895

President
Faure, 1895-
1899

President
Loubet,
1899-

Apparently the republic is settled firmly on foundations that will endure. Within the last dozen years it has passed through two periods of extreme peril, from domestic excitements, generated by corruption and faction, the two deadliest foes with which democracy has to contend. The first had its origin in the great undertaking of the company formed by M. de Lesseps for the construction of the Panama Canal. An immense number of the French people, in every class, had invested their savings in the company, expecting large and sure returns. Hence the failure of the company was a calamity that struck everywhere, almost like a bankruptcy of the nation itself; and when an investigation, begun in 1892, brought startling corruptions, as well as follies and extravagances in the management of the undertaking, to light, the shock to confidence was very great.

Panama
Canal fail-
ure, 1888

France made, however, a good recovery from this blow, only to be smitten quickly by another agitation, so sinister in its causes and so profound in its moral menace that it convulsed the whole world. Captain Alfred Dreyfus, an officer of Jewish family, in the French army, had been convicted by court martial, in 1894, on a charge of be-

The Drey-
fus affair,
1894-1899

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
6 : France

The army
staff con-
spiracy
against
Dreyfus

Anti-Semi-
tism

The new
trial, 1899

Relations
between
France and
Germany

traying military secrets to a foreign power, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. Two years later, facts indicating that Dreyfus was an innocent man, the victim of a foul conspiracy by other officers of the army, began to come to light, and very soon the case appeared as one at issue between Dreyfus and his race, on one side, and the French Army Staff, backed everywhere by mobs of Jew-haters, on the other. As known now, very nearly beyond question, Dreyfus, because a Jew, was chosen by a powerful ring of army officers for deliberate sacrifice, to conceal the crime of another officer; and the whole general staff—the highest officers of the French army—with clear knowledge of the infamous transaction, combined deliberately to sustain it, resisting all investigation of the forgeries and perjuries by which a doom worse than death had been laid on an innocent man. They resisted with success for nearly three years, appealing, on one hand, to the dread in France of anything calculated to impair the spirit of its army, and to the senseless rancor of French anti-Semitism, on the other. But justice could not be outraged forever. At last the case of Dreyfus was permitted by the government to reach a court which had power to order that it be tried anew. In the new trial by court martial, the defense of the wronged man was hampered in all possible ways, and he was condemned again; but belief in his innocence was so confirmed that the government was driven to set him free. Since that time the factious rages that pursued Dreyfus have been dying out, and he now has the promise of a full and fair opportunity to clear his name.

Much of French feeling in the Dreyfus affair was traceable plainly to a passionate idolizing of the army, as the instrument of a great hoped-for revenge upon Germany; but many signs seem now to show the cooling of that thirst for revenge. The relations between France and Germany are recovering their normal state. The two opposing alliances,—France with Russia, Germany with Austria and Italy,—by which they had severally strengthened themselves, have been losing significance in late years.

That the government of the republic has acquired a

strong feeling of security, is shown by its boldness in taking control of all public education, and in regulating religious associations, placing itself in conflict with the clergy and with powerful orders in the church. Its measures to that end were begun moderately in 1880, but went much farther in 1901, when publicity for everything relating to the constitutions, obligations, purposes, doings, and membership of all classes of associations, religious and otherwise, was required and enforced; while limits to their acquisition of property were fixed. Many teaching institutions that refused submission to the law were closed; and measures adopted since have brought all teaching under public control. The more radical intention of an act of legislation now pressed by the government and likely to become law is the total separation of the state from the church.

Public control of education

Law on associations, 1901

Separation of church and state, 1905

The German Empire

While the army of the Germans was still besieging Paris, and King William and Prince Bismarck were at Versailles, in January, 1871, the last act which completed the unification and nationalization of Germany was performed. This was the assumption of the title of emperor by King William, in response to the prayer of the princes of Germany and of the North German parliament. On the 16th of the following April, a constitution for the German empire, in place of the constitution of the German Confederation, was proclaimed.

Constitution of the empire

Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 1: Constitution (full text)

The long and extraordinary reign of the emperor William I. was ended by his death in 1888. His son, Frederick III., was dying at the time of an incurable disease, and survived his father only three months. The son of Frederick III., William II., signalized the beginning of his reign by dismissing, after a few months, the great minister, Count Bismarck, on whom his strong grandfather had leaned, and who had wrought such marvels of statesmanship and diplomacy for the German race. That self-sufficient act furnished a key to the character of this third emperor of the Hohenzollern line. Had he lived in the seventeenth century he could not have had less doubt as to "the divinity that doth hedge a king." The divine ordinance of his own kingship,—the divine

Frederick III., emperor, 1888

William II., emperor, 1888-

Dismissal of Bismarck, 1890

Imperial egotism

inspiration of all wisdom in himself,—the divine command of reverence and obedience to his subjects,—are evidently the fundamentals of his belief. In season and out of season, since he mounted the throne, he has striven to impress them upon the German people, in speeches that sound as if they came from the Versailles of Louis XIV.

Effects of
the work of
Bismarck
and
William I.

The period of his rule has been fortunate in circumstances that gave a prestige to the empire, not proceeding from any statesmanship of his own. He has inherited all the potency of good that was in the great work of Bismarck and his grandfather, when they unified the German states; when they made them one nation, with common interests, a common basis of relations to each other, a common policy in dealing with the outside world, and the possibility of a common code of law. From that has sprung a new Germany, defederalized, set free from a thousand curbs on its spirit, on its energies, on its growth. Nothing beyond the work that Bismarck and the first William did is needed to explain the wonderful rise of Germany to eminence among the nations since they left the field.

Spread of
democratic
and social-
istic ideas

A natural consequence of the paternal pretensions of the government has been the rapid spreading of democratic aspirations among the people, deeply under the influence of socialistic ideas. Each succeeding election shows a marked increase in the total strength of the various political parties which avow democratic principles and aims; and that one among them which gives its members the name of Social Democrats commands a far larger vote than all the rest. Even the paternalism of the government has been forced into lines that accord with the doctrines of socialism, producing a remarkable system of compulsory state insurance for workingmen, applied by successive laws to sickness, in the first instance, then to accidents, and becoming finally a pensioning insurance for permanent invalidity and old age. The insuring funds are collected from employers and employed—one third from the former, two thirds from the latter—and the administration of them is officially regulated and supervised. The system came partially into operation in

State insur-
ance system

1883, more completely in 1889, and has been extended since. It is said to be working with great success.

Southeastern Europe

Since the Franco-German War of 1870-1871, the peace of Europe has been broken but once by hostilities within the European boundary. In 1875 a rising against the unendurable misrule of the Turks began in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and was imitated the next year in Bulgaria. Servia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey and were overcome. Russia then espoused the cause of the struggling Slavs, and opened, in 1877, a most formidable new attempt to crush the Ottoman power, and to accomplish her coveted extension to the Mediterranean. From May until the following January the storm of war raged fiercely along the Balkans. The Turks fought stubbornly, but they were beaten back, and nothing but a dangerous opposition of feeling among the other powers in Europe stayed the hand of the czar from being laid upon Constantinople.

Russo-Turkish War,
1877-1878

Defeat of the
Turks

The powers required a settlement of the peace between Russia and Turkey to be made by a general congress, and it was held at Berlin, in June, 1878. Bulgaria was divided by the congress into two states, one tributary to the Turk, but freely governed, the other subject to Turkey, but under a Christian governor. This arrangement was set aside seven years later by a bloodless revolution, which formed one Bulgaria in nominal relations of dependence upon the Porte. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria by the congress of Berlin; the independence of Roumania, Servia and Montenegro was made more complete; the island of Cyprus was turned over to Great Britain for administration.

Congress of
Berlin, 1878

Reconstructions

Russia

Liberator, as he was, of more than forty millions of Russian serfs, and inclined to humanity and justice, as other actions of his reign proved him to be, the czar Alexander II. suffered a fate which the worst of tyrants could hardly be thought to have deserved. Nihilists pursued him with repeated plots against his life, until they accomplished his murder, on the 13th of March, 1881.

Murder of
Alexander
II., March
13, 1881

Alexander
III., 1881-
1894

He was succeeded by his son, Alexander III., during whose reign of thirteen years the bigots of the Russian church and the political reactionists held all power. Jews and Christians outside of the Greek church of Russia were driven into exile by unsparing persecution, and freedom of opinion was suppressed. The czar, whose health was feeble, is supposed to have had little personal knowledge of what was done in his name. In one important matter he made his will felt; for he hated war, and resolutely kept his empire at peace. His son, Nicholas II., who succeeded him in 1894, shares his repugnance to war, and it was he who proposed and brought about the memorable Peace Conference at The Hague, in 1899.

Nicholas
II., 1894-

Treatment
of Finland

That the present czar is a man of fine feelings and liberal ideas, but weak in will, appears to be certain, from all that can be known of himself, distinguishably from his surroundings in the government; but shameful things have been done since his reign began. Finland, the most enlightened and truly civilized of his dominions, has been robbed of its constitutional rights, and "Russianized" in a thoroughly despotic way. China has been cheated systematically, in dealings that brought Manchuria, at last, under Russian control. Japan, cheated equally, and endangered by the consequences, has been forced to contest the transaction by war. In Russia itself discontent has been kept alive by many oppressions, and many outbreaks have occurred. On the other hand, the czar, by his personal command, has relaxed numerous oppressive laws of his predecessors, giving important relief to the Jews, to unorthodox Christians, to the Polish press, to the students of the universities, taking pains to investigate the grievances of the latter and to place the ministry of education in proper hands.

Liberal
measures of
the czar

Central
Asian con-
quests, 1869-
1881

A new movement of Russian conquest in Central Asia was begun in 1869, when formal possession was taken of the eastern coast of the Caspian Sea. The fierce nomads of the region between the Caspian and the Oxus, on which river the posts of the Russian advance from the north had been planted, were then attacked from the west, and their subjugation was a task that employed some of the ablest of Russian officers for a dozen years. Practi-

cally it was finished by the siege and capture of Geok Tepe, accomplished with horrible carnage in 1881. This broke the power of the Tekke Turkomans, who had fought with obstinate courage to the last. Meantime the khanate of Khiva had succumbed to the Russians on the Oxus, and the czar became master of all Central Asia west of the Chinese empire, his realm touching the frontiers of Persia and Afghanistan. This approach to the borders of British India roused jealousy and apprehension in England, and has given rise to much nervous diplomacy in recent years.

Geok Tepe,
1881

Russian ap-
proach to
British In-
dia

The Russian development of Siberia has made immense strides since the undertaking, in 1891, of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which crosses the entire continent of Asia, from the railway system of European Russia to the Pacific, at Port Arthur and Vladivostok,—a distance exceeding 6,000 miles. This enterprise is connected very closely with the designs that Russia has pursued on the Pacific coast, and which have involved her in a desperate war with Japan. The disastrousness of the war and its fearful cost, in life, in suffering, and in money, are causes, at the present time, of a very threatening discontent among the people, all classes of whom are demanding some break in the iron system of autocracy and bureaucracy that shall open the ear of the czar to their complaints. The violent revolutionists and anarchists have resumed their terrorizing work, and dread uncertainty overhangs the future of the great empire of the Slavs. On the 3d of March, 1905, the czar signed a decree which authorizes the creation of a body of elected representatives of the people, not to be a national legislature, but to be merely an organ for the expression of the opinions and wishes of the nation. That this will quiet the popular demand that has called it forth seems more than doubtful at the time of the present writing; but it is an important step.

Trans-Sibe-
rian railway

War with
Japan, 1904-
1905

(See pages
480-483)

Threatening
discontent

The czar's
concession

Japan, China, Korea, and the Russians in Eastern Asia

The extremity of the Korean peninsula is thrust so near to Japan that its nominal vassalage to China was always something for the island empire to fear. In 1876 the Japanese obtained a treaty from the Koreans which

Relations of
Korea to
China and
Japan

declared the independence of the latter, and China made no demur. Thereafter Japan denied that the Peking government had rights in the peninsula superior to its own; and its view was confirmed apparently, in 1885, by an agreement between the two empires, that neither, without notice to the other, should send forces to Korea, for dealing with the frequent disorders there. An occasion for intervention by one or both arose in 1894, and the Korean king then called upon the emperor of China, as a vassal calling upon his suzerain, for help. Japan, with promptitude, met this implied resumption of the old dependency by pouring troops into Korea and taking its government in hand. War followed, and the Chinese were completely overpowered. Their navy was half destroyed in battle, and the remainder captured in the harbor of Wei-hai-wei. Their army was beaten in every engagement; their strongest fortress, Port Arthur, was taken, and nothing seemed likely to prevent the advance of the Japanese to Peking itself. At the end of the war of eight months and a half, China obtained peace by a treaty which recognized the independence of Korea, ceded to Japan most of the contiguous Liao-tung peninsula, as well as Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, and promised a heavy war indemnity.

Immediately on the announcement of these terms, Russia, Germany and France interfered, to prevent the cession of the Liao-tung peninsula (which includes Port Arthur), on the ground that it "would be detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient"; and Japan was compelled by their threatening attitude to give back that most important part of the conquest she had made. The dishonesty of the pretense on which this meddling action of the three European powers was taken appeared the next year, when a secret treaty of China with Russia became known, promising to Russia a lease of Port Arthur, and other "special privileges," "as a response," said the document, "to the loyal aid given by Russia in the retrocession of Liao-tung." Two years later the promise was fulfilled, and Port Arthur was transferred to Russia, for conversion into a stronghold,—the main terminus of her Trans-Siberian Railway,—the obvious pivot of designs

War between Japan and China, 1894-1895

Treaty of Shimono-seki, April 17, 1895

Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 6 : China (full text)

Interference of Russia, Germany and France

Lease of Port Arthur to Russia, March, 1898

that were "detrimental to the lasting peace of the Orient," and threatening equally to the future of China and Japan.

But this evidence of the duplicity and dishonesty of the treatment of Japan by the three interfering powers was not left alone. In November, 1897, Germany seized the port of Kiao-Chau, demanding and securing it, with a large surrounding area, on a ninety-nine years lease, by way of indemnity for the murder of two German missionaries that year. Subsequently, Great Britain, not to be placed at a disadvantage on the North China coast, insisted upon the leasing of Wei-hai-wei to herself, on the Port Arthur terms. Other extortions of less seriousness followed; and then a fierce scramble began for "concessions,"—to build railways, to work mines, to navigate streams, to do this and that which the Chinese did not want to have done. The only great power that took no part in what seemed to be first moves in the partitioning of China was the United States, which simply made use of the situation to secure from all the powers concerned a pledge of commercial equality, or the policy called that of "the open door."

Insulted, outraged, by such treatment and such discussion of themselves, who can wonder that the Chinese went mad with a raging hatred of these bullying intruders from the other side of the world? Who can wonder at the happenings of 1900?—the "Boxer" outbreak of the lower classes; the violences of murder, riot and insurrection; the more than half sympathy of the government with the feeling and action of its subjects, and its powerlessness, moreover, to control outbursts which came from a desperate passion in the national heart? All the barbarities committed by Chinese upon foreigners, including the siege of the legations at Peking, appear to have been equaled fully by some parts of the allied forces that marched from Tien-tsin to the Chinese capital, in wanton massacres and brutalities on the way, and in some of their doings while Peking was in their hands.

Probably nothing but the impossibility of agreement concerning shares prevented an attempted beginning of the partition of the empire then and there. As it was, one power made sure, or intended to make sure, of the

Seizure of
Kiao-Chau
by Germany,
1897

Lease of
Wei-hai-wei
to Great
Britain, 1898

"Conces-
sions"

The "open
door"
secured by
the United
States, 1900

The "Box-
er" outbreak
in China

Siege and
rescue of
legations at
Peking,
June-Aug.,
1900

Larned,
History for
Ready
Reference,
6 : China

Russia in
Manchuria

great province that it coveted for the completion of its designs in the east. Russia had filled Manchuria with troops, and she kept them there; on the pretense of necessity, to preserve order, and to protect the Port Arthur connection of her Trans-Siberian Railway, protesting always her intention to withdraw, yet secretly working always to wring from China such a treaty as would give her practical possession of Manchuria, to the exclusion of other powers. More than any other power, except China, Japan had reason to prevent the accomplishment of these Russian designs, if she could; and at this time, while we write, Japan appears to be proving that she could.

Japan after
the mikado
restoration,
1868-1905

After the revolution of 1868, in Japan, there was a struggle between progressive and conservative parties, which resulted in the defeat of the latter, and the directing of the empire into the path of a remarkable new career. Within a single generation it has been modernized beyond all example, in political institutions, in educational aims, in industrial and commercial methods and in many social conditions. Its government has been a constitutional one, and its law-making the work of a parliament which represents the people, since 1889. Japan has assimilated the science of the western nations and made use of their inventions with a rapidity and a completeness that have astonished the world. How effectively she had done so in naval and military matters was shown when she came to conflict with China, in the war of 1894-5, described above. Cheated then of what she deemed the just fruits of her victory by Russian interference, helped by Germany and France, Japan, from that day, applied her energies and the rare intelligence of her people to extraordinary preparations for war. She intended to beat back the Russians from their threatened domination of the neighboring coast, and of the narrow waters on which her security depends. The test of her preparations to that end came in the winter of 1904, when Japan became convinced that Russia did not mean to fulfill her repeated promises, to withdraw her large forces from Manchuria. Then, on the 6th of February, negotiations on the subject were broken off by the Japanese, and, three days later, with no formal declaration of war, they attacked the Russian fleet in the harbor

The written
constitution
of the em-
pire

Larned,
*History for
Ready
Reference*,
1: Constitution (full
text)

Japanese
preparations
for war

War of
Japan with
Russia, 1904-
1905

of Port Arthur, sinking or crippling several ships. At the same time they were pushing troops into Korea and advancing them with rapidity to the Yalu, the Manchurian frontier. The war thus opened is still, at this writing, in progress. It has been one of desperate fighting throughout. In the unmeasured sacrifice of life on both sides, especially on that of the Japanese; in the suffering of armies that keep the field through all seasons, of arctic cold and torrid heat; in the horror of battles, afloat and ashore, fought with the newest implements of destruction and death, it has no parallel in the history of war. Thus far, victory has been constantly on the side of the Japanese. The Russians, fighting at an immense distance from their source of reinforcements and supplies, with no command of the sea, dependent on a single, imperfect line of railway, more than 6,000 miles in length, are handicapped heavily; but, even when matched equally with their opponents of the yellow race, they have not held their own. Practically, their navy has been put out of the contest; Port Arthur, supposed to be impregnable fortified, and defended heroically for well-nigh a year, was surrendered to its indomitable besiegers on the 1st of January, 1905; their armies, defeated in almost every encounter, have been driven from one fortified position to another, until, at this writing (March, 1905), their practical destruction seems almost assured. And, while Russia, filled with disaffection, appears to be on the brink of revolution, Japan has the appearance of a nation extraordinarily united in approval and support of the war.

Horrors of
the war

Japanese
successes

Russian dis-
advantages

Capture of
Port Arthur,
Jan. 1, 1905

Egypt and the Sudan

The extravagance of the khedive and the corruptness of his service brought him to a pass, in 1875, where he could no longer pay the heavy interest on his debts. This made quick trouble with his foreign creditors, and both England and France intervened in their behalf. The two powers forced him to place Egyptian finances under the control of an Englishman and a Frenchman, who proceeded to order economies and exercise an authority that angered the Egyptians and roused them to resist. A national party came into existence, which frightened the

Milner,
*England in
Egypt*

The khedive
and his
creditors,
1875

Foreign con-
trol of
Egyptian
finances,
1877

khedive into dismissing his foreign financial ministers; and this brought England and France into action again. On their demand, the Turkish sultan deposed the khedive (Ismail), and gave the throne to Tewfik, his son. Tewfik submitted Egyptian finances again to foreign control, and again the national party rose up to resist, headed this time by an energetic colonel, Ahmed Arabi, who led it into armed revolt. As the sultan could not be moved to undertake the suppression of the revolt, England took the task in hand, alone. Her fleet bombarded Alexandria, where a dreadful massacre of Europeans had occurred; British forces landed, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, and shattered the army of Arabi in a single battle, fought at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi, who surrendered himself at Cairo a few days later, was sent to exile in Ceylon. England had won the dictatorial rights in Egypt that she has exercised ever since, simply because she acted, while France and the other powers of Europe looked on. The khedival government is maintained, but under British control.

While these events were in progress, the Egyptian Sudan had become fearfully disturbed by the appearance of an ambitious dervish, who proclaimed himself to be the "mahdi"—a supreme prophet and redeemer of Islam, long foretold. Sir Samuel Baker's operations in that region had been followed by a more thorough subjugation of the tribes, accomplished by Colonel Gordon—the "Chinese" Gordon of previous fame—who served the khedive as governor-general of the Sudan from 1874 to 1879. After Gordon's departure the weakness of Egyptian administration in the province was soon felt, and the mahdi, rising to influence in 1881, became practically the master of the country within the next two years. Failing to realize his power, the British government, in 1883, sent Hicks Pasha against him, with an army, mainly Egyptian, of 11,000 men, every one of whom was destroyed. Not a man came back. The abandonment of the Sudan was then decided upon, and Gordon was persuaded to undertake the extrication of the scattered Egyptian garrisons in the country. He went to Khartoum in February, and before many weeks it was known that the forces of the mahdi had beleaguered him there. An expedition, under

1879

Arabi's revolt, 1881

British suppression of the revolt, 1882

British domination in Egypt

The "mahdi" in the Sudan, 1881-1885

Colonel Gordon's governorship, 1874-1879

Fate of Hicks Pasha and his army, 1883

Gordon beleaguered at Khartoum, 1884-1885

General (Lord) Wolseley, was sent to his rescue; but the British government was slow in its action, and the rescuers, toiling and fighting their way to Khartoum, reached it, on the 28th of January, 1885, just two days too late. The town had been betrayed to the enemy on the 26th, and Gordon had been slain.

His fate

The mahdi died in the following June, and the dervish power he had established passed to one of his khalifas, or commanders, unresisted by British or Egyptians for the next ten years, so far as concerned the Sudan. But the Abyssinians had to fight the khalifa, and suffered defeat in a battle in which John, their king, was killed. Flushed with this victory, the dervishes began to advance down the Nile, into the Nubian district, till checked by British and Egyptian forces at Toski. This quieted them for a time, which ended in 1896. Italy, meantime, claiming a protectorate over Abyssinia, founded on an ambiguous phrase in a commercial treaty, and becoming involved in a disastrous war with Menelek, the successor in that country to King John, had also come into collision with the dervishes, and was being sorely pressed. There were signs that the khalifa would soon be threatening Egypt again, and a determination to expel him from the Sudan was reached in the spring of 1896. A fine Egyptian army had been created by this time, with an able British officer, Sir Herbert Kitchener, as its sirdar, or general-in-chief. The undertaking was difficult, and taxed all the energies of commander and men, during more than two years. In two desperate battles, on the Atbara and at Omdurman, and in many minor engagements, the dervish forces were almost destroyed, and the conquest of the Sudan was made complete in 1899, when the khalifa fell in a final fight.

Death of the mahdi, 1885

The khalifa

Aug., 1889

Italy in Abyssinia, 1895-1896

Egyptian reconquest of the Sudan, 1896-1899

The partitioning of Africa

Between 1874 and 1877, Henry M. Stanley, employed by an enterprising newspaper at New York, crossed equatorial Africa, from Zanzibar to the western coast, following the Congo to its mouth, and making known the importance of the immense valley that it drains. This awakened in King Leopold, of Belgium, an ambition to undertake the development of the region, and may be

Stanley's exploration of the Congo, 1874-1877

King Leopold and the Congo Association, 1879

The Berlin conference, 1884-1885

The Congo Free State

1876-1880

1880

1883

The eager scramble, 1884-1890

German acquisitions

British

regarded as the starting point of movements which led, in the next few years, to the occupation or preëmption, so to speak, of nearly all parts of the great African continent by the leading European powers. Leopold led the movement by organizing an International Congo Association, which engaged Stanley to establish posts in the Congo territory and to make treaties with the multitude of its native tribes. Thus possession was taken of the country, nominally for an "international association," but practically for the Belgian king. He secured recognition of the rights of his association from every important power, and his action was followed by an important conference of national representatives at Berlin, to discuss the partition of Africa, arrive at agreements concerning it, establish a free trade zone in the Congo basin, and formally sanction the Congo Association. In the following summer the association was transformed by name into the Congo Free State.

Prior to the Berlin Conference, an active beginning had been made in the partitioning of the African continent. Portugal added nothing substantial to her ancient colonies and claims on both coasts; but Great Britain already had accomplished several annexations to her South African dominion, and a British company was winning a foothold on the Niger. France was pushing southward into the Sahara, from Algeria and Tunis; was rapidly widening the domain of an old French colony on the Senegal, and had pursued explorations which gave her claims to a large region north and west of the lower Congo. Italy had started her colony, Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and Germany had laid her hands on a bit of Great Namaqualand, in the southwest. But now, in 1884, the scramble for African territory became like a rush in western America for newly opened lands. Between that year and 1890 Germany stretched her southwestern seizure from British bounds on the south to the Portuguese line on the north; established claims on the east coast, from the ocean to Lake Tanganyika, and on the west coast, in Togoland and in the Kamerun country, by treaty with native chiefs. Great Britain, in the same period, expanded her claims in the Niger region, advanced her protectorate or her "sphere

of influence" in South Africa northward, between the Portuguese territories, east and west, up to the southern limits of German East Africa and the Congo Free State; also in eastern equatorial Africa, north of German East Africa, to Abyssinia, and from the coast to Lake Albert Nyanza and the Nile. Subsequently, in conjunction with Egypt, this sphere of British protection became coterminous with an Anglo-Egyptian condominium established over a wide belt of the Sudan, on both sides of the Nile, to Khartoum. In addition, Great Britain shares the Somali coast with an Italian protectorate, established in 1889-90.

Anglo-Egyptian condominium

Conflict of Boers and Britons in South Africa

The British expansion in South Africa was chiefly the work of one ambitious and able man, Cecil Rhodes, who acted through the agency of the British South Africa Company, chartered in 1889. The undertakings of the South Africa Company conflicted with projects of expansion entertained by the Boers of the Transvaal Republic, and that conflict was at the back of other causes in producing the war that opened in 1899.

Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, 6: South Africa

Doyle, *The Great Boer War*

Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company

The Transvaal republic

For many years after settling in the Transvaal, the Boers had suffered many hardships and done much fighting with the natives, till a few among them, in 1877, were so far disheartened that they gave encouragement to an attempt on the part of a British official to annex the Transvaal to the dominions of the queen. The majority, after vain protests, rose in arms, and defeated British forces in several battles, especially with fearful slaughter at Majuba Hill. Mr. Gladstone, who had then come into power in England, believed them to have been wronged, and made peace with them, on terms which reestablished their independence, except in foreign affairs, which Great Britain, as a suzerain, might control. This was disappointing to the British in South Africa, who hoped for a strong confederation of African colonies, while it encouraged the aspirations of the Dutch inhabitants, who outnumbered the British colonists as a whole, and who expected to be the dominant race. The resulting growth of antagonistic feelings was quickened by the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand (White Waters

Attempted British annexation, 1877

Majuba Hill, Feb., 1881

Restored independence

Discovery of gold, 1884

"Outland-
ers" and
Boers

The Jame-
son raid, 1895

Outbreak of
war, Oct.,
1899

Obstinacy of
the struggle

End and re-
sult of the
war, May,
1902

Ridge) of the Transvaal. This drew large numbers of foreigners into the Boer country, and built up, at Johannesburg, the largest of South African cities. The Boers were suspicious and jealous of the "outlanders," as they called them; afraid to give them political rights, even for the regulation of affairs in their own municipality of Johannesburg; and the British government was drawn, presently, into disputes between the government of the republic and the outlanders subject to it in the rand. It cannot be doubted that more or less stimulation of such disputes came from the influence of the South African Company and Mr. Rhodes. Some of the servants of the company (whether with or without the privity of its chiefs has never been made clear) did, in fact, conspire at last to assist a rebellion of the outlanders, and invaded the Transvaal with 500 armed men, whom the Boers brought to a stand, disarmed and made captive with remarkable speed.

From that time the Boer government made defensive preparations, applying large revenues derived from a taxation of mines and miners to the purchase of arms, but making no concession to the persistent demand of the outlanders for political rights. In 1899, the British government began to back those demands in a somewhat threatening tone, and was met with an ultimatum so peremptory as to be equivalent to a declaration of war. The Boers were better prepared than the British at the beginning, and the whole strength of their nation went into the ensuing fight, which lasted two years and a half, and which taxed the military power of Great Britain more severely than it was ever taxed before. From first to last she was compelled to bring nearly 450,000 men of all arms against the 60,000 or 70,000 fighting force of the Boers. After both their capitals had been taken (for the Orange Free State had made common cause with the Transvaal) and President Kruger of the Transvaal had been driven to Europe, the indomitable Dutch farmers fought still in guerilla bands, till the end of May, 1902. They yielded then to the inevitable, submitting to the loss of their national independence, accepting for both of their former republics the temporary status of British crown

colonies (having no representative legislatures), but having the assurance of representative institutions and self-government in due time. While this is being written, there are said to be measures in progress for fulfilling that promise to the Boers.

The United States of America

The centennial anniversary of American independence, celebrated in 1876 by the holding, at Philadelphia, of an international exposition of industries and arts, was marked more unhappily by a presidential election over which a very angry and dangerous dispute arose. Most of the causes of dispute had their origin in the disordered condition of the southern States. Contesting returns of the election, made by rival authorities, were sent to congress from South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida and Oregon. No rule for dealing with such contests, in the counting of electoral votes, had been prescribed in the constitution or by any legislation, and the open question of procedure in the matter was made more serious by the fact that one political party controlled the senate and the other was dominant in the lower house. The very gravity of the situation compelled the leaders of both parties to come to an agreement before the day of the counting arrived. They sanctioned the creation of an electoral commission of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the supreme court, to which all the disputed returns should be referred. The count was conducted accordingly, and General Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, was declared elected by a majority of one electoral vote over Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic nominee. The unfortunate fact that every question referred to the electoral commission was decided by a partisan vote, of eight Republicans against seven Democrats, cast a doubt on the impartiality of the judgment, and left bitter feelings behind; but the decision was accepted so quietly that the self-restraint of the American democracy never had a finer proof.

The administration of President Hayes marks the opening of an epoch of recovery from the derangements of the civil war. Most of the federal forces were withdrawn from the southern States, and the contests of race

A disputed
presidential
election,
1876

Stanwood,
*History of
Presidential
Elec-
tions*,
ch. xxiv

The elect-
oral com-
mission

Its decisions

President
Hayes, 1877-
1871

Practical
negation of
the recon-
struction
acts

Northern
acquies-
cence

Duty to the
emancipated
people

Larned,
*History of
the U. S.*,
576

Money ques-
tions in poli-
tics

Taussig,
*The Silver
Situation in
the U. S.*

The indefi-
nite "dol-
lar"

and faction in them were left, to a large extent, for settle-
ment by their own legislatures and courts. The result
was a speedy restoration of the white inhabitants to
political control. Practically, the political franchises that
were conferred on the emancipated slaves by the recon-
struction acts and constitutional amendments were an-
nulled, by methods of intimidation at first, and, finally, by
ingenious contrivances of law. Practically, too, the north-
ern people, who exacted the bestowal of those franchises
on the liberated race, have acquiesced in the purloining of
them, though not without some protestation and some
wish to interfere. An experiment of ten years in the em-
ployment of federal authority and military force, to up-
hold the weaker race against the stronger in eleven States
of the Union, had encouraged little hope of good to either
race from persistence on that line; and public opinion
seems to have settled slowly to the conclusion that "the
duty of the nation to the emancipated people must be per-
formed in some other way. Education, industrial train-
ing, encouragement to thrift, widening of opportunities,
promotion of common interests and friendly relations be-
tween whites and blacks, have appeared to be the most
promising means for slowly bettering or curing the un-
happy conditions of society which slavery brought about."

As reconstruction issues dropped into the background
of politics, there were economic questions waiting for
consideration and pressed urgently by the circumstances
of the time. Since December, 1861, there had been no
monetary circulation of gold and silver coin in the United
States. The "greenback" legal tender notes of the gov-
ernment, made money by force of law, but with nothing
to define the "dollars" that were promised in them (since
they were redeemable in nothing of defined value), had
driven all defined money out of use. For seventeen years,
gold, whether coined or uncoined, had been only a com-
modity of the market, bought and sold for greenbacks, at
prices always fluctuating,—rising to its highest point in
July, 1864, when the greenback "dollar," so-called, would
buy but thirty-five cents worth of gold. During those
years the American people had become so habituated to
the fluctuating prices and the business gambling which

such money produced, that many were opposed to any revival of the use of coined money as a medium of exchange. These became united in what received the name of the "Greenback party," and were a political force of importance for some years. Against their opposition, congress passed an act in 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments by the government on the 1st of January, 1879; and such resumption was accomplished at the appointed time.

The "Green-
back party"

Resumption
of specie
payments,
Jan. 1, 1879

The ideas of money that were represented in the Greenback party took a new direction at about this time, caused by the fall of value in silver, compared with gold. Formerly, the relative decline in value, as between the two metals, had been on the side of gold; and silver, for some years, became too high in market price for coining, at the coinage ratio of sixteen to one in weight. There being no demand for silver dollars, congress dropped them from the coinage act of 1873, and no opposition was heard. But an extraordinary increase of production in silver mining occurred soon after, which so cheapened that metal that silver dollars, if reinstated in free coinage at the old ratio, would be worth considerably less than dollars defined in gold. This recommended them to the opponents of the gold standard of value, who thought that the higher but more stable prices which that standard maintains were, in some way, beneficial to capitalists, but injurious to the people at large. This view, which history and all experience condemns, won acceptance from large bodies of people, and demands for a revival of the free coinage of legal-tender silver dollars, at the old ratio of sixteen to one, increased in pressure as the market value of silver went down. Naturally these demands were supported by the silver-mining interests of the Rocky Mountain States. A powerful party was thus formed, which, in 1878, carried an act through congress, over the veto of the president, not establishing free coinage of silver, but requiring the government to purchase, every month, not less than \$2,000,000 nor more than \$4,000,000 worth of silver bullion, and to coin it into silver dollars, containing 412½ grains of standard silver in each. The act also authorized an issue of silver certificates on

Declining
value of
silver

The act of
1873

The "six-
teen to one"
demand

The Bland
Silver Bill,
1878

deposits of silver dollars in the treasury, thus creating a paper currency redeemable in that silver coin.

Result of
the Bland
act

This remarkable measure, kept in force for twelve years, did not, as expected, arrest the decline of silver in market price, or produce the heightening of general prices which its supporters desired. No other country could be persuaded to follow the example of the United States and join them in attempting to restore silver to monetary use, except for purposes of "small change." The single, gold standard became more and more confirmed in acceptance by the world. The United States were forced to conform to it, in their transactions with the rest of mankind. Their government, to preserve its credit in the world at large, and not become a bankrupt government, was compelled to keep its silver coin, its silver certificates, and its greenback notes up to the gold standard, by keeping them exchangeable for gold. So the costly experiment of the "Bland Silver Bill" accomplished nothing except the marketing of some hundreds of millions of silver bullion for the mine-owners, at the expense of the people of the United States.

Compulsory
adhesion to
the gold
standard

Murder of
President
Garfield,
July 2, 1881

The presidential election of 1880 gave rise to a factious quarrel in the successful Republican party, with a dreadful tragedy at the end. General Garfield, the chosen president, made appointments that offended certain arrogant party leaders and opened a shameful feud. The feeling stirred up worked on one weak-minded creature in the office-hunting swarm at Washington till he waylaid and shot the president, inflicting a mortal wound. The shock of this murder roused the country to a realization of the malignancy of the "spoils system" in party politics, and set on foot a resolute movement of reform, led eloquently and untiringly by George William Curtis, as president of a strong National Civil Service Reform League. The first efficient law to establish a merit system of appointment in the national civil service (the Pendleton Act) was passed by congress in 1883, and administered with faithfulness by President Chester A. Arthur, who, from vice-president, became president when General Garfield died. From that beginning great progress has been made since, toward the redemption of the whole civil service of

Civil service
reform

President
Arthur,
1881-1885

the country, federal, State and municipal; but much remains still to be done.

For the first time in twenty-four years, a change of party in the administration of the government was brought about by the presidential election of 1884. The Democrats seated their candidate, Grover Cleveland, who was called to the higher office from being governor of New York. The administration of President Cleveland was marked by a degree of personal independence in the executive which alienated many of the politicians of his party, but won the confidence and appealed to the admiration of the people at large. Considering the fact that his party had been excluded from federal offices for almost a generation, he used his power of so-called "patronage" with remarkable moderation, and deserves high credit for the firmness with which he upheld the general principles of civil service reform. The political courage and independence of the president were displayed still more emphatically in his annual message of 1887. Devoting the entire message to the subject of the protective tariff, he directed attention to the dangerous surplus which duties in excess of the needs of revenue for the government were heaping up in the treasury, and the consequent drain of money from business uses. In the face of the popularity which the protective system of import duties had acquired, this was a bold attack. Practically, in late years, the Democratic party had been yielding tacit consent to the extreme protective policy of the party in power. It was unprepared for the summons of its elected chief, recalling it to the principles of its early faith; but it answered the call, and the tariff question was made a leading issue in politics once more. A bill for moderating duties on imports was passed by the Democratic majority in the house of representatives, but defeated in the Republican senate; and so the issue went to the people in the presidential election of next year. Important measures of President Cleveland's term were the repeal of the "tenure-of-office act" (passed in 1867 to tie President Johnson's hands), an enactment regulating the count of electoral votes (to prevent troubles like those of 1876),

President
Cleveland,
1885-1889

His personal
independence

The tariff
message of
President
Cleveland,
1887

The tariff
question in
politics

Important
measures

and the act which created the "interstate commerce commission," in 1887.

President
Benjamin
Harrison,
1889-1893

As an expression of popular judgment on the tariff question, the election of 1888 was indecisive; for Mr. Cleveland (renominated by his party), while he failed of reëlection, received about one hundred thousand more votes at the polls than his Republican opponent, Mr. Benjamin Harrison; but the latter carried more States and won a majority of the electoral votes. The Republicans regained not only the presidency, but full control of congress, in both houses, and were reinforced in the senate during the next two years by the admission of six new States, from the far northwest. In their view, the protective tariff policy had received popular indorsement, and they proceeded at once to raise the rates of duty to a higher scale, by an act known as the McKinley Tariff Act, from the name of the chairman of the committee that reported it to the house of representatives and carried it through.

The
McKinley
Tariff Act,
1890

The Sher-
man Silver
Act, 1890

The same congress dealt anew with the silver question, in what is referred to as the Sherman Act, which repealed the Bland Silver Act of 1878, but only to give further satisfaction to the demand for more silver in monetary use. It did so by requiring the secretary of the treasury to purchase 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion every month at its market price, and to issue treasury notes in payment, which should be redeemable in either gold or silver, at his discretion, and be legal tender for all debts.

The working
of the act

The working of this law produced alarming financial conditions, in the course of the next three years. Silver continued to fall in market value, and the government had to satisfy increasing demands for gold, to be hoarded or to be sent abroad, where silver had no monetary use. The national credit depended upon a continued redemption of its greenbacks and its silver certificates in gold; and it had no authority to retire them when once redeemed. It must continually reissue them, and continually give gold for them when they came back with a demand for it. That the exhausting process must end in national bankruptcy seemed plain enough; and yet remedial measures were resisted in congress, with success.

Threat-
ened na-
tional bank-
ruptcy

The crisis of the situation was approaching when another presidential election arrived, in 1892. The silver money doctrines were now embodied specially in a new political party, called the People's or Populist party; but many Democrats and many Republicans were regarding those doctrines with very hesitating minds, and no positive opposition to them by any party was yet declared. President Harrison and ex-President Cleveland were rival candidates again, and the latter was elected by a plurality of nearly 400,000 votes. More than a million votes were cast for the Populist nominee.

The People's or Populist party

Presidential election, 1892

In the last weeks of his term President Harrison gave countenance to a revolution in the Hawaiian Islands, contrived and carried out by foreign residents mostly, with an appearance of help from the American minister and from an American ship of war. A treaty of annexation to the United States, negotiated with the revolutionists, was pending in the senate when Mr. Cleveland took the place of Mr. Harrison in the executive seat. He withdrew the treaty at once, condemning the whole proceeding in strong terms.

Hawaiian revolution and treaty of annexation, 1892-1893

President Cleveland, 1893-1897

Mr. Cleveland came back to the presidency just in time to bear the brunt of the effects of the silver legislation, under the strain of which the whole financial system of the country was breaking down. In August he called a special session of congress and appealed to it for measures of release and relief. The house would do no more than pass a bill to repeal the silver-purchasing requirements of the Sherman Act, and the senate refused even that for two months, till the rising alarm and anger of the business interests of the country compelled it to yield. This removed the most pressing dangers of the situation; but the monetary system of the country was left in a precarious state.

Financial stress

Partial repeal of the Sherman Act, Oct. 1893

In undertaking a revision of the tariff, and the revenue system generally, congress did no better. The house passed a bill reducing rates of duty, which the senate reconstructed, so flagrantly under the influence of certain great protected interests that President Cleveland would not sign the act when passed, though he allowed it to become law. An income tax, included in the revenue act,

The Wilson Tariff Act, 1894

was made inoperative by the supreme court, which adjudged it to be unconstitutional and void.

Venezuela
dispute with
Great
Britain, 1895

Sequent to a sharp controversy with the British government, in 1895, over the refusal of the latter to arbitrate a question of boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, the president asked congress for authority to appoint a commission for ascertaining the true boundary, in order to determine the future action of the United States. This bore an air of menace that was startling to both countries; but the natural relations of fraternity between them had become too well settled to be disturbed in more than a passing way. The result of the incident was not only an agreement for the arbitration of the Venezuela question, but the negotiation of a general treaty for the peaceful settlement by arbitration of future questions between Great Britain and the United States. This happy outcome was hailed with general joy; but a malignant faction in the senate was able to prevent the ratification of the treaty by the needed two thirds vote.

Rejected
Anglo-
American
treaty of
arbitration,
1897

The presidential canvass and election of 1896 was one of more serious excitement than the country had known since the election that preceded the civil war. A large body of the American people had come to believe that a free, unlimited coinage of legal tender silver money, with the weight of silver in the silver dollar proportioned to the weight of gold in a gold dollar in the old ratio of sixteen to one (notwithstanding the lowered value of silver), would give prosperity and plenty to everybody, and overthrow what they looked upon as a tyrannical money power. Another large body believed that what these silver advocates wished to do meant bankruptcy to government and people. The silver men won control of the Democratic national convention, held at Chicago, and nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for president. The nomination of Mr. Bryan was indorsed by the Populists, and by a body of Republicans organized as a National Silver party. It was repudiated by many Democrats, who held another convention and nominated General John M. Palmer, of Illinois. The controlling majority of the Republican party, in its national convention at St. Louis, declared itself "opposed to the free coinage of

The silver
question in
the presi-
dential
election of
1896

The nom-
inees

silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world"; and it nominated William McKinley for president. There was never before such debating by a whole nation—such a "campaign of education," as it was styled,—as that which ensued. The decision of the people was against the silver theory. Mr. McKinley was elected by a majority of about 600,000 over Bryan, and by 300,000 over all opposing nominees.

The campaign of education

Notwithstanding the victory for the gold standard, nearly four years went by before legislation was obtained from congress to make it good. Meantime, futile efforts were made to persuade the leading nations of Europe to join the United States in restoring silver to use as a monetary standard, in conjunction with gold. At last, by enactment in 1900, the standard "dollar"—the sole unit of value in the United States—was defined to be a coin containing 25.8 grains of gold, nine tenths fine; and all "dollars" represented in other forms, in silver coins or on paper, must be kept to equivalence with that gold dollar by being exchangeable for it.

Establishment of the gold standard of value 1900

The new triumph of the Republican party was celebrated more promptly by the repeal of the revised tariff act of 1894, and the restoration of protective duties, more extreme than the highest ever levied before.

The Dingley Tariff Act, 1897

And now came the memorable first surrenders of the American people to those seductive ambitions, for colonial empire and for playing a part in the affairs of the older world, which the solemn warnings of the wise fathers of the republic had kept in repression for a hundred years. Signs of the wakening passion appeared in the attempt on the Hawaiian Islands, in 1893. Checked then by President Cleveland, but kindled newly by excitements of war in 1898, it broke from restraint, and, after accomplishing the Hawaiian annexation, as a petty prelude, drove the nation on to a great harvesting of exterior dominion by the sharp reaping of the sword.

Excitement of imperialistic ambitions

Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, 1898

Oppressive government of Cuba and cruelty in the suppression of a Cuban revolt provoked the intervention of the United States and led to a war with Spain, opened on the 21st of April, 1898. In two naval battles, fought in Manila Bay, on the 1st of May, and on the Cuban

War with Spain for the deliverance of Cuba, 1898

Naval and
military suc-
cesses

Siege and
capture of
Manila

Peace, Dec.
10, 1898

Acquisition
of the Philip-
pine Islands
and Porto
Rico

Declaration
concerning
Cuba

The republic
of Cuba,
1902

coast, near Santiago de Cuba, on the 3d of July, the two principal Spanish fleets were destroyed, by Admiral Dewey, in the first instance, and by Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley in the last. After sharp battles fought at San Juan Hill and El Caney, near Santiago de Cuba, on the 1st and 2d of July, that city, and the Spanish forces defending eastern Cuba, were surrendered on the 17th to General Shafter, commanding an expedition from the United States. On the 13th of August the city of Manila, capital of the Philippine Islands, was surrendered to another American army, after a siege in which insurgent natives of the islands took part, with the belief that they were assisting to free their country from foreign rule. Meantime, possession of the island of Guam, in the Ladrones or Marianas, and of the large island of Porto Rico, in the West Indies, was taken by other American forces. Disheartened by these reverses, Spain made overtures which brought about a suspension of hostilities on the 12th of August, and the negotiation, at Paris, of a treaty of peace, concluded in the following December. The vanquished nation, submitting to terms imposed by the victors, ceded Porto Rico and Guam, sold the Philippine Islands for \$20,000,000, and relinquished all claims of sovereignty over Cuba.

Concerning Cuba, the government of the United States had declared at the beginning of the war, by resolution of congress, that it had no "disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof," and asserted "its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This pledge was fulfilled, with certain reservations, supposed to be consistent with its terms. After nearly four years of a military occupation of the island, during which the Cubans had framed and adopted a republican constitution and become organized for self-government, the officials and troops of the United States were withdrawn (May 20, 1902) and the independent republic of Cuba was recognized in due form, but subject to conditions which it showed some reluctance to accept. These restricted its freedom in matters relating to treaties with foreign

powers and to the contraction of public debts, besides conceding to the United States very large and indefinite rights of intervention, "for the preservation of Cuban independence" and for "the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." The republic of Cuba, in fact, is placed under the protectorate control of the United States.

Protectorate
rights of the
United
States

Had a similar relation to the Philippine Islands been contemplated and foreshadowed at the time they were taken over from Spain, it is unlikely that the acquisition would have been opposed, in the United States or by the Filipinos themselves. But no such prospect was held out, and the half conquest, half purchase of the great archipelago, to be held and ruled without consent of its people, gave a startling shock to American traditions and democratic beliefs. It became still more shocking when the people thus dealt with resisted the transfer from one foreign sovereignty to another, and a war of subjugation was required, to make them submissive to the new rule. But the lust of dominion had overcome principle and reverent tradition in the American States, for a time at least, and so far that the revolting Filipinos were beaten to submission, in a war prosecuted with vigor for more than two years, by an army of some 50,000 soldiers of the republic of the United States. The government thus forced upon them has been, without doubt, a better government than they ever experienced before, and is doing many things for their good; but it is a government that did not derive "just powers from the consent of the governed"; and so, unless the theory of American democracy is fundamentally false, it stands condemned.

Revolt in the
Philippine
Islands,
Feb., 1899-
April, 1901

Subjugation
of the Fili-
pinos

President McKinley, reëlected in 1900,—again on the silver issue, represented again by Mr. Bryan, as the Democratic nominee,—lived through only six months of his second term. While receiving a throng of people at an exposition in Buffalo he was shot by a Polish anarchist, for no reason but the fact that he represented authority and law. Theodore Roosevelt, vice-president, then became president, bringing to the office a marked resoluteness and energy of character and will. The most notable achievements of his administration have been in promo-

Murder of
President
McKinley,
Sept. 6, 1901

President
Roosevelt,
1901-

The inter-
oceanic
canal

Independ-
ence of
Panama

New ambi-
tions of the
United
States as a
world power

Material de-
velopment
of the coun-
try since the
civil war

tion of the project of an interoceanic canal. Former hindrances to the undertaking were cleared away by a treaty with Great Britain, superseding the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, guaranteeing the neutrality of the proposed canal, but securing rights of ownership, regulation and defense to the United States. Attempts were then made to arrange terms with the government of Colombia on which the unfinished work of the bankrupt French Panama Canal Company might be taken in hand; but negotiations for the purpose failed, and the failure led to a revolution in the province of Panama, its secession from Colombia, and the creation of an independent republic of Panama, recognized by the United States and other powers. Under a treaty with the new Panama government, the work done by the French company, with all its rights and properties connected therewith, have been purchased by the United States for the sum of \$40,000,000, and the canal is to be finished with all possible speed.

President Roosevelt is conspicuously an exponent of the ambitious new spirit in the country, which carried it into the war with Spain, took possession of Porto Rico and the Philippine archipelago, raised the American standing army to 100,000 men, is creating an American navy second to none but that of England, and is pressing the nation more and more into the thick of international strifes and politics, as an active and assertive "world power." That Mr. Roosevelt was reëlected in November, 1904, by a prodigious majority, may be taken as evidence that the American republic is dominated by such ambitions at the present time.

Perhaps the impulse of this spirit came inevitably from the excess of the energies that have been developed in the country since the ending of the civil war. How could a nation that was doubled in population between 1870 and 1900; that settled five and a quarter millions of people in and beyond the mountains of the farther west, where less than a million were found thirty years before; that lengthened the miles of its railways from 35,000 in 1865 to 198,000 in 1901; that stretched them in five lines across the whole continent; that increased its wheat crop from 152,000,000 bushels in 1867 to 748,000,000 in 1902, its

corn crop from 868,000,000 bushels in 1867 to 2,105,000,000 in 1901, its cotton crop from two and a quarter millions of bales in 1866 to ten and three quarters millions in 1902, its production of iron and steel from three and a quarter millions of tons in 1870 to twenty-nine and a half millions in 1900, and the total product of its manufacturing industries from four thousand millions to thirteen thousand millions; that fertilized more than seven and a half millions of acres of arid lands by artificial irrigation; that has piled up wealth into huger public and private heaps than were ever amassed before,—how could a nation that has so changed its material circumstances, in a single generation, escape some corresponding change in temper and state of mind? No doubt it was inevitable. Perhaps the fever of work and wealth-making that has heated the blood of this present generation will undergo a timely cure, and world-power ambitions will then give place to aspirations for a national greatness planned on finer moral lines.

Productive-
nessWealth-
makingFiner aspira-
tions to be
hoped for

The Dominion of Canada

Since the confederation of the British North American provinces, in 1867, the Dominion of Canada has had a generally peaceful and prosperous career, not disturbed seriously by some disputes with the United States, relative to the Alaska boundary line, seal killing in Bering Sea, fishing rights off Newfoundland and on the great lakes, etc., all of which were referred unsuccessfully to a joint high commission in 1898. Finally, the Alaska boundary was determined by the decision of a mixed tribunal which met in London, in 1903. In 1896 the Conservative party, which had held power in the Dominion for a number of years, suffered defeat, and Sir Wilfred Laurier, at the head of a Liberal ministry, has conducted the government since that time.

Alaska
boundaryLaurier
ministry,
1896-

Mexico

At the end of his first term in the Mexican presidency, General Porfirio Diaz was succeeded peacefully by General Gonzalez, who held it for four years. Diaz was then called to the office again, and there has been no change in the presidency since. For term after term he has been reëlected, and has given to the republic of Mexico, for the

President
Porfirio
Diaz, 1880-
1905

Extraor-
dinary prog-
ress of the
country

first time in its history, a long period of good government and peace. Its progress in these twenty-four years of his continuous administration has been as remarkable in matters of education, and in the spirit and character of the people, as it has been in material things. The Mexico and the Mexicans of to-day seem to be a totally different country and people from the Mexico and the Mexicans of a generation ago; and the government of President Diaz must be credited, undeniably, with the wonderful change.

Brazil

Fall of the
empire, 1889

The United
States of
Brazil

By a revolution accomplished with no resistance, in November, 1889, the imperial government in Brazil was set aside, the aged emperor, Dom Pedro II., sent to exile, and a federal republic instituted, bearing the name of the United States of Brazil. The deposed emperor was a man much esteemed in the world at large, but he did not satisfy the desire of his subjects for a larger trust of self-government, especially in their provincial affairs. Since the formation of the republic there has been not a little of the factious strife and disturbance so common in South American politics; but Brazil is said to have prospered, on the whole.

Australia

Federal
union

Constitution
of the Com-
monwealth
of Australia,
1900

Larned,
*History for
Ready Ref-
erence*, 6:
Constitution
(full text)

After fifty years of discussion of the subject, and many attempts to accomplish a union of the Australian colonies, the five colonies of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania were brought to an agreement in 1897 for the framing of a federal constitution, by a convention which met at Adelaide that year. The draft prepared by the convention, after amendment and acceptance by the several colonies, was submitted to the imperial parliament of Great Britain in 1899, and, with one modification by that body, was embodied in an "Act to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia," which passed parliament on the 7th of July, 1900, and was proclaimed by the queen on the 17th of the following September. The federal government of the new commonwealth was inaugurated with splendid ceremonies on the New Year day of 1901, when its parliament was

opened by the duke of York, eldest son of the now reigning king of England, Edward VII. Queensland and Western Australia had then entered the union. - New Zealand may do so in the future.

New Zealand

The most radically socialistic experiments that have ever been tried, under governmental auspices and upon a large scale, are now in progress in New Zealand, and engaging the attention of all who concern themselves with the many social problems of the time. State ownership was made a ruling principle of the New Zealand land system in 1892; the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes was established by law in 1894; old age pensions were instituted in 1899. Judgments upon the working of these experiments are not wholly in agreement, and final conclusions regarding them are not likely to be drawn for some years.

Social ex-
periments,
1892-1899

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